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THE HERITAGE OF SOLOMON

AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO
THE SOCIOLOGY OF ANCIENT PALESTINE

BY
JOHN GARSTANG

With Maps and Illustrations.

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ANCIENT PALESTINE

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TO
GAMZU

PREFACE.

WHEN invited by Mr. Herbert Spencer's trustees to prepare a volume on the Sociology of Ancient Palestine, I welcomed the opportunity thus afforded of treating this fascinating subject in the way which alone seems to me to hold out a prospect of an intelligible result, namely, by historical stages. Books on the subject that I had seen, though the work of more competent students, had left me with a confused impression of a curiously complex civilization; and now that I have examined the voluminous materials at first hand, this confusion seems not only to be real, but capable of explanation. In the first place, Palestine is not naturally a geographical unit, but rather a centre of disunity; so that the various racial and sociological influences to which it was successively exposed remained long unabsorbed, the customs and institutions of one society co-existing with those of another, until, as under David, the military or political ascendancy of one group induced a partial fusion of the whole. In the second place, the sources of information, particularly those of the Bible, are only partly contemporary with the events they purport to describe, and vary in date among themselves by as much as 1,000 years. It is inevitable, then, that unless these sources are treated critically and historically, the customs of one age are liable to be jumbled together with those of another pertaining to a different race and political environment.

With these considerations in mind, I make, in this volume, an appeal to history, and attempt to give a series of glimpses of the leading sociological features, so far as the materials afford, at different successive epochs. Now that it is completed, I realize how short it falls of the ideal; there are aspects of folk-lore and religious contact and numerous other matters that could well be amplified; indeed, I have not been able to incorporate into these 400 pages more than one-half of the comparative materials and scholarly discussions of details that my helpers have prepared for this purpose. However, notwithstanding its shortcomings, this work will, I trust, indicate the most reliable line of approach at the present time, when fresh information is constantly coming to light, and so, perhaps, prepare the way for some young scholar to undertake in due time a more comprehensive and detailed synthesis. If, in this book, I have seemed to neglect the work of others in the same field, may I say in apology that I carefully abstained from using their books as works of reference during the preparation of my own, being desirous of presenting a fresh and independent aspect of the subject; and where knotty problems have presented themselves which scholars have not solved to their mutual satisfaction, I have been guided as far as possible by the dictates of common sense and inductive reasoning.

This book being designed for the educated English reader, I have confined the references, as much as possible, to works of English scholarship, happy to recognize that in the field of Biblical research our countrymen have held their own. Names like Sayce, Cheyne, Driver, Gray and Burney ought not

to be forgotten by this generation, even though it may still be the fashion in some academic circles to appraise the value of a book by the frequency of its footnotes in foreign languages. Among living scholars, I have to thank, in particular, my friends Professor Stevenson of Glasgow, Professor Cook of Cambridge and Professor Langdon of Oxford, for their ready answers to my numerous questionings on points of detail; and I hasten to dissociate them, one and all, from any theories or conjectures of my own which may reveal themselves to the reader. I would also like to express my indebtedness to my sister, Mrs. Robert Gurney, who has shared much of the labour and the pleasure of writing these pages; and also to a whole circle of friends who have helped in reading proofs. The Sociological Index to the Hexateuch, and the General Index, are the work of Miss D. M. Vaughan; and Miss Mabel Ratcliffe has prepared the drawings and the basis of the maps which illustrate this volume.

Though hardly necessary to say it, I would like it to be known how greatly I have been helped in this task by the facilities so cordially granted to me by Mr. Herbert Spencer's trustees, Sir Arthur Keith, Sir David Prain, and Major Leonard Darwin. In particular, the glimpses of the Bedouin life around the borders of Palestine, which they enabled me to see for myself, have made clear to me a vital factor in this enquiry which I had imperfectly appreciated and has considerably affected my conclusions.

In this part of my investigations, especially in outlying districts such as Safed and Beersheba, and in Trans-Jordan, I also received great assistance from a number of the resident officials and officers

of the police force, who not only helped to organize my journeys, but frequently arranged for me to accompany their patrols and generously supplemented my observations from their own experiences and knowledge. This part of my work, coupled with the hospitality with which I was received, both by them and in the desert camps, has left with me very pleasant memories; and it is with particular appreciation that I recall the untiring and efficient work of this group of British officers, of whom the home country may be justifiably proud. I do not mention them by name lest I should unwittingly violate some rule of administrative etiquette, or appear invidious, but I cannot pass over their assistance altogether in silence; and in the same tribute I would like to acknowledge the help given to me personally by H.H. the Amîr Abdallah, titular Head of the Trans-Jordanian Government.

Lastly, may I refer to the pleasurable relations I have enjoyed throughout with the Secretary of the Trust, Mr. T. W. Hill, the Editor of this series, whose wise suggestions have left their impress upon nearly every page.

JOHN GARSTANG.

INSTITUTE OF ARCHÆOLOGY,
UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL.

10th August, 1934.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

A.J.S.L.	...	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages.</i>
A.S.O.R.	...	American Schools of Oriental Research.
B., A.R.	...	Breasted, <i>Ancient Records of Egypt.</i>
Bo. T.U.	...	Forrer, <i>Boghazköi Texte im Umschrift.</i>
B.S.A.J.	...	British School of Archæology in Jerusalem.
C.A.H.	...	<i>Cambridge Ancient History.</i>
C.B. ...	...	also <i>Camb. Bibl. The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.</i>
J.E.A. ...	...	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archæology.</i>
J.P.O.S.	...	<i>Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society.</i>
Kn., A.L.	...	Knudtzon. <i>Amarna Letters.</i>
Liv. A.A.	...	<i>Liverpool University Annals of Archæology.</i>
P.E.F., Q.S.	...	Palestine Exploration Fund, <i>Quarterly Statement.</i>
LXX ...	...	The Septuagint.

 SPELLINGS.

So far as practicable, the simplest and most familiar spellings have been adopted, even at the risk of some inconsistency. Thus *Ḥammurabi* and *Ḥatti*, *Hurrian* rather than *Khurrian* or *Ḥurrian*; but *Ḥabiru*, as in the *Amarna Letters*. For ancient place-names the Biblical form has been used whenever possible, with modern Arabic to indicate the sites: thus *Bethshan* when speaking of the historic city, but *Beisan* to connote its geographical position or the modern village. Throughout this volume the word *Bedouin* is used both as an adjective and also as the plural of *Bedoui*.

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INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

SCOPE OF THIS ENQUIRY AND THE SOURCES.

Four epochs : Hyksos period to Solomon. Egyptian sources : annals of the Pharaohs, their sociological value ; the Amarna Letters. Biblical sources : subject-matter ; analysis of the Text. Permanence of local practices.

THE centuries between 1600 and 950 B.C., which mark the range of our present enquiry, though entering as yet only just within the pale of history, comprise four visible epochs which may reasonably be assumed to mark definite stages in the development of the social institutions of Palestine. Each epoch is defined by some major historical episode involving a change in the racial balance of the population : the first by the conquest of Canaan by the Pharaohs at the close of the Hyksos period, and its organization as a frontier province of the Egyptian Empire by Thutmose III about 1500 B.C. ; the second by the Israelite penetration, a century later, from the south-eastern deserts, closely followed by a separate H̄abiru invasion from Hittite Syria¹ ; the third by the advent of Asianic and European peoples, including the Philistines, which heralded the downfall of the Bronze Age culture, about 1200 B.C. ; and the fourth by the gradual fusion of the Hebrew tribes under a united monarchy, which embraced within its

¹ See below p. 7 and p. 225.

dominion most of the varied elements in the population of the country.

Strictly speaking, only the last of these phases can be regarded as historic, in the sense that the political organization and social life are described by more or less contemporary documents.¹ Our information about the earlier epochs, apart from the material witness of archæological remains, is derived in part from brief contemporary allusions in the archives and official correspondence of the Pharaohs, and in part from the legends and traditions of the Israelite tribes themselves. Both these sources throw light upon the civilization and social organization of the Canaanites and of the Philistines; the Bible alone upon that of the Israelites, who are mentioned once only in contemporary Egyptian records.

It should be recognized at the outset that these sources of information are somewhat limited, especially as our project is not confined to a description of social life in Palestine at any particular epoch, but aims at tracing the origins and development of the customs and institutions which found their ultimate expression in the social organization of united Palestine in the age of Solomon. In other words, we propose to examine tier by tier the sub-structure upon which the social fabric of Solomon arose. The method of enquiry will be historical, a searching of the records for sociological material age by age. Evidently the value of the result must depend ultimately upon the reliability of the available records; it will be well, therefore, before proceed-

¹ Embodied in 2 Samuel and 1 Kings.

ing further, to examine these and estimate their value.

The Egyptian sources are of two kinds. The one group is chiefly found among the mural decorations of the Theban temples. It comprises the contemporary records of the Pharaohs' campaigns in southern Syria, from which can be reconstructed a political map showing the names and positions of important cities, routes and strategic points, reflecting also to some extent the disposition of the people of Canaan and of the desert tribes. But the information contained in these records of the Pharaohs' triumphs is not exclusively of military or political interest. The long and frequent lists of spoils and prisoners throw light upon the grades of society no less than upon the industries and resources of the country.¹

The Annals of Thutmose III provide apt illustration. Thus, booty garnered from a number of Canaanite cities of Lower Galilee in that conqueror's first organized campaign, about 1479 B.C. (apart from the spoils of the city of Megiddo, where foes from all parts of Syria were assembled), is said to have comprised² "... 5 of their lords, 1,796 male and female slaves with their children, 103 men ; ... flat dishes of costly stone and gold, a large (two handled) vase of the work of Kharu [southern Palestine], vases, flat dishes, bowls, drinking vessels, ... (87) knives," gold and silver in rings.³ The

¹ The Ancient Records of Egypt have been collected and translated in a standard work of four volumes by Prof. J. H. Breasted, referred to hereafter as B., *Anct. Rec. Eg.*

² *Ibid.*, ii, 436.

³ In weight, 966 *deben* and 1 *kidet*=235.46 lbs.

list includes a statue of beaten silver, with a head of gold and a staff with human faces, ivory, ebony, and *carob* wood, wrought with gold; chairs and footstools, tables of ivory and selected wood, a staff wrought with gold and costly stones in the fashion of a sceptre, and a statue of the enemy-leader in ebony wrought with gold, the head of which was inlaid with lapis-lazuli.

Catalogues of this kind, if they can be trusted, not only bear witness to the high level of civilization and wide trade relations of Canaan during the first of our epochs, but throw vivid light upon the arts, the industries, and even the organization, of town life. Other records will tell as much of agricultural life. Thus, in his next campaign, this same Pharaoh exacted from the chieftains of the country¹ 103 horses, 5 chariots wrought with gold, 5 chariots wrought with electrum, 749 bulls, 5,703 small cattle, flat dishes of gold and of silver, a gold object, probably a horn, inlaid with lapis-lazuli, a bronze corselet inlaid with gold, 823 jars of incense, 1,718 jars of honeyed wine . . ." etc., in addition to a "chief's daughter with her ornaments of gold and lapis-lazuli," and 30 of her slaves, together with 65 other slaves, male and female. In the seventh campaign a tithe was levied on the harvest, which is recorded² as comprising "much grain, grain in the ear, barley, incense, green oil, wine and fruit. . . ." The lists continue at great length, but enough has been quoted to illustrate their bearing upon our subject. Their further contents will be found absorbed into

¹ Called *Retenu* in the texts, B., *Ancl. Rec. Eg.*, ii, 447: probably the coastal regions and plains of Canaan as distinct from *Kharu*.

² B., *op. cit.* ii, 473.

the pages of this volume : it is of more immediate importance to enquire into their reliability.

The records of the campaigns of Thutmose III, which we have quoted by way of illustration, are found at Karnak in Upper Egypt, where they are carved in hieroglyphs around the sides of a chamber with sandstone walls occupying the central and most sacred portion of the great temple of Amon. There is no reason to doubt that the building and inscribing were completed during the reign of that Pharaoh,¹ and it has been pointed out that these annals are evidently derived from records officially compiled during the progress of the campaigns ; indeed, the fact is directly stated in the opening narrative,² when the city of Megiddo was besieged and captured : " Now all that his majesty did to this city, to that wretched foe and his wretched army, was recorded each day by its name . . . [and thereafter] . . . recorded upon a roll of leather in the temple of Amon to this day."

The authenticity of the records, then, is not in doubt. Nor does their tenor belie such material evidence as excavation has afforded. It is true that relatively few Canaanitish sites have been explored down to their Bronze Age levels ; nevertheless, discoveries at Gezer, Bethshan, Shechem and at Jericho, not to speak of Megiddo itself, all point to the prosperity of Canaan during the period which preceded the Egyptian conquest ; and such finds as illustrate the arts and culture of the age³ show

¹ Cf. Mariette, *Rev. Arch.*, 1860, 1, N.S. 30. Birch, *Annals of Thutmose III*, *Archæologia* xxxv, 121. Lepsius, *Denkmäler* iii, 31, 6, b.

² B., *Anct. Rec. Eg.*, 391, 392.

³ *Ibid.* ii, 431 ff.

that the country was really capable of producing most of the commodities which the Pharaoh counted among his spoils. Allowance may be made, if need be, for the tendency to exaggeration common to all records of triumph, yet from the consistent nature of the catalogues throughout many reigns it would appear that this tendency would probably affect the recorded quantities rather than the character and description of the spoils.

We conclude, then, that in so far as the Egyptian records describe the produce of the country, or throw light upon its industry and social system, they may be regarded for the most part as valid and reliable. Thus is placed at our disposal a vast material covering the whole period of the Egyptian administration of the country, from 1580 B.C., when the first Pharaoh of the XVIIIth Dynasty drove out the Hyksos, till the coming of the Philistines four centuries later in the reign of Ramses III, the second monarch of the XXth Dynasty. Chance references under later monarchs, though not providing the elements of a picture, are still to be taken into account when we come to consider questions of political organization and relations.

Egyptian records, as already indicated, comprise a second group of documents, which, though less comprehensive and relating chiefly to the political affairs of a single generation, claim particular attention in that they were mostly written by the Canaanitish chieftains of the day, and formed a part of the state documents of the "Heretic King" Akhenaton. These are the well-known "Amarna Letters,"¹

¹ The standard edition is still that of Knudtzon, *Die Amarna Tafeln*, though now falling out of date.

tablets of baked clay inscribed in the cuneiform syllabary of Western Asia, and found in the remains of that Pharaoh's palace in middle Egypt. Some of them were addressed to Akhenaton's father and predecessor, Amenhetep III,¹ and may have been transported with other official effects when the young reformer broke away from the influence of the Theban priesthood and changed his capital to the site where they were recovered. These letters discuss the condition of affairs in the Syrian Empire of the Pharaohs during the first thirty or forty years of the 14th century B.C. They thus cover the greater part of our second epoch, which begins with the invasion of Canaan from the east by the Israelite Hebrews under Joshua.²

The tenor of these letters is well known. They contain reports and appeals for help from the Syrian chieftains to their neglectful suzerains, and are particularly concerned with the movements of a group of confederated invaders called the Ḫabiru,³ who, coming apparently from the Hittite area of the north, passed through the country from end to end, terrifying the loyal chieftains and subverting most of them from their allegiance to the Egyptian throne.

Evidently these documents are mainly political rather than sociological in their import; none the less, they help us to understand the conditions under which the Israelites secured their footing.

¹ For parallel lists of Egyptian kings and Israelite rulers, as followed throughout this volume, see the present writer's *Joshua: Judges*, p. 344.

² Joshua v-xi. Cf. *Joshua: Judges*, pp. 135 ff.

³ Ideographically SA.GAZ.; cf. C.A.H., II, p. 733 n, also p. 310 ff.

Not only do they disclose the Pharaohs' organization of the country as already established, possibly by Thutmose III, but they reflect elements of the older Canaanite-Amorite system of independent city-states. Within these limitations, therefore, these documents, being of local origin and of undoubted authenticity, claim a place in our consideration of the earlier epochs.

Turning now to the second and principal source of information, we find the Biblical narrative to be replete with sociological materials. These, as all know, cover many aspects of social life in ancient Palestine, from details of current events to echoes of customs already ancient or bordering on the domain of folk-lore. Their contents will be found analysed in the appendix to this volume.¹ A rapid survey discloses, amongst other things, information as to the racial groups of the native population, their distribution, stature, language and dialects, and their relations with the Israelites. In matters of political organization, while the indications are particularly plentiful as regards the period of the monarchy, light is thrown also upon the earlier societies of the Canaanites and other elements of the population. Family and social life are illustrated by numerous incidents, which describe details of the home, the relations of parents to children, matters of personal honour and morality, marriage customs and the status of woman. Descriptions of domestic life are intimate, including not only the house and its contents, lighting, heating and food, but also details as to clothing, ornaments and

¹ Below : p. 395 ff., cf. p. 14.

personal habits. Village or community customs are described in the accounts of sacrificial feasts and vintage festivals, of dancing and games, of the reception of strangers, and of burial practices and mourning for the dead. The documentation regarding the law and legal procedure is equally instructive, and includes many time-honoured customs, such as blood-vengeance and trial by ordeal. The gradual replacement of tribal responsibility by that of the individual may be traced through successive periods.

Descriptions of industry and occupations are found to include all aspects of pastoral and agricultural life, as well as town trades, customs concerning money, prices, wages, debt and usury, and larger questions of national revenue. Warfare forms the theme of numerous passages in the text, which not only give details of army organization, weapons and equipment, but deal with the general conditions and rules of war, the fate of the vanquished after battle, the disposal of spoils and trophies, and the position of the civil population. Intellectual life is relatively well covered, both with regard to the simpler elements, the alphabet, letters and writing, as well as to advanced literature and poetry, technical subjects such as disease and medicine, astronomy and the calendar ; while music and musical instruments also receive attention. Accounts of religious practices, by the very nature of the documents, are plentiful, and include not only details as to obscure Israelitish rites, but also references to the adoption of alien customs attributable to environment.

This bare outline does not claim to show more than a glimpse of the thousand and one items of information to be found in the Bible, and bearing

upon the subject-matter of this volume. It is sufficient, however, to dispel any doubt as to the utility of these records. None the less, the very multiplicity of the references, taking into consideration the nature of the institutions they reflect, is a source of difficulty ; for however much they may be arranged and classified, the sociological system based upon these documents as they stand must appear confused, and works that have been compiled upon these lines alone, however thorough and sincere, show traces of such confusion. Moreover, the society of Palestine, in ancient as in modern times, is by force of its geographical situation extremely complex ; and it may safely be said that never at any time has the population been so unified as to have welded together its customs into a single national expression.

Our difficulty lies not so much in the question of authenticity and textual exactitude of the documents which form the Biblical narrative as in their date and historical relevance. Philological criticism of the last two generations has demonstrated to the satisfaction of most thinking men that the structure of the Book is composite and the work of centuries. Even those scholars who reject the detailed analysis of the text as propounded by the advanced school of "Higher Critics" recognize the contradictory and inconsistent nature of various passages, and realize that many anachronisms and discrepancies can only be explained on the assumption that later hands edited and amplified the earlier documents. Clearly we cannot make headway without accepting the broad results of critical analysis ; it will therefore be helpful to summarize the conclusions, and con-

venient for this purpose to adopt some of the symbols in common use.

Put briefly, textual analysis shows that the original nucleus of the Book comprises two strains of tradition, attributable to the southern and northern tribes, respectively, and believed to have been set down in writing before or during the ninth and eighth centuries B.C.¹ The symbols used to denote these elements in the text are J and E, initial letters which conveniently recall their Judaic and Ephraimite origins, but are really based upon the almost exclusive use of Jahweh (otherwise Yahweh) as the divine name in the one, and a distinct preference for Elohim in the other. The symbol JE is used to denote passages formed by the blending of these sources, a process thought to have taken place in the seventh century B.C. These old documents were grouped, amplified and annotated late in the seventh century B.C. by the Deuteronomic School (D) under which the Book began to take a connected form; and it was further supplemented and edited by priestly hands (P), in the light of political developments, during and even after the return from exile. Thus the Old Testament did not gain its final form until about the second century B.C. It is to be noted, however, that no extant Hebrew version of the text can be attributed to an earlier date than

¹ For a full discussion of the origin and dates of J. and E., see Driver, *Introd. to the Lit. of the O.T.* (1913), p. 122 ff, where the views of leading students of the past generation are given due consideration; also cf. the introductory notes on the matter by the several editors of the early historical books of the O.T. in the *Camb. Bibl. for Schools and Colleges*. For a modern view, see especially Kennett, *The Church of Israel*, ed. by Prof. S. A. Cook, p. xl ff.

the end of the first millennium A.D. Earlier copies exist of the Greek version, the Septuagint, which was begun at Alexandria about the middle of the third century B.C., and may thus preserve the original form and meaning of various passages better than the Massoretic or standard Hebrew text.

Though opinion differs somewhat as to the date and even the relative antiquity of the J and E documents, it is generally agreed that they constitute the oldest elements of the text, and hence refer most nearly to contemporary events. Moreover, these documents demonstrably embody older traditions and songs liable to little change¹; and there is reason to believe that a number of their historical allusions may be derived from written sources older than the tenth century B.C. Indeed, parallels for certain passages have been found in contemporary Egyptian annals.² In our treatment of this question it will be our endeavour to select and apportion, if possible, the oldest passages to their proper epochs; for only by this method can the tangle of material be unravelled so as to disclose the development of social institutions, side by side with the ethnical movements which have continually changed the structure of the population.

We have examined briefly the various records which throw light upon the social fabric of successive periods in the history of Ancient Palestine, but we must not overlook another factor in our enquiry, perhaps the most important because the most per-

¹ See further below, p. 144.

² The record of Judges iii, 13, E, is identical in implication with the annals of Year I of the reign of Seti I. See *Joshua* : *Judges*, p. 270 ff.

manent, namely the character and geographical position of the country in which it was developed. As the ages pass, historic epochs fade from view, but the land remains ; and its immutable powers are found to have influenced not only the industries and political groupings, but even the religious outlook of the peoples it supports. The culture of all nations preserves unconsciously some of the superstitions and institutions of a former population ; they are a heritage of the land. But Palestine is peculiar in that it lies at the meeting place of three vast areas peopled by a more or less kindred stock. Of these the most constant and unchanging is Arabia, which from time to time by force of circumstances must expel part of its population ; so that from the earliest times it has poured into Palestine a stream of Semitic blood, intermittent but unending, replacing and occasionally displacing earlier settlers or nomad tribes upon its borders.

This phenomenon is one of the permanent factors in the making and more particularly in the maintaining of its customs, and we shall accordingly devote a separate chapter to its causes and effects. But as illustration of the marked permanency in certain aspects of its social customs, we point to the fact that the blood feud, and trial by ordeal of fire, have survived so openly and with such tenacity among the Bedouin tribes which form the fringe of the population, that they are wisely recognized by the present administration of the country. But hidden practices of greater significance still survive ; it is on record that less than twenty years ago and in defiance of the law an unchaste girl was solemnly judged by an assembly of her relatives and put to death, to hide

the disgrace which her sin had brought upon her family.¹

The pages of the Bible are permeated by the traces of old folk customs, some clearly of racial or tribal origin,² others of the primitive or naturalistic order, which may be regarded as proper to the land and more durable than race or creed. Such are the sacredness of trees³ and stones,⁴ the practice of piling heaps of stones to hold down the evil spirits,⁵ the principle of matrilinear inheritance,⁶ the disposal of blood,⁷ and certain seasonal festivals such as the commemoration of the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter.⁸ The origins of these and many similar archaic customs are lost beyond the borderland of history, and it is evident that the land was already strewn with relics of the past before the incidents of even the earliest of our periods. Then with each successive epoch came fresh immigrants bringing their own customs, some alien and some familiar, varying with the direction and source of each migration, so that the geographical factor becomes one of radical importance.

¹ Canaan, *Unwritten Laws Affecting the Arab Women of Palestine*, in J.P.O.S. xi, p. 199.

² Gen. xxi, 4; Joshua v, 3.

³ Gen. xiii, 18, J. Judges vi, 11, 19, J. 1 Sam. xxii, 6.

⁴ Gen. xxxviii, 18, E. Joshua xxiv, 26, 27, E. Judges ix, 6.

⁵ Joshua vii, 26, J. 2 Sam. xviii, 17.

⁶ Gen. xxiv, 67, J. Judges iv, 17, E.

⁷ Deut. xii, 16, 24. 1 Sam. xiv, 33.

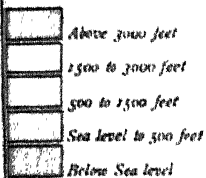
⁸ Judges xi, 34, E.

CANAAN before Israel

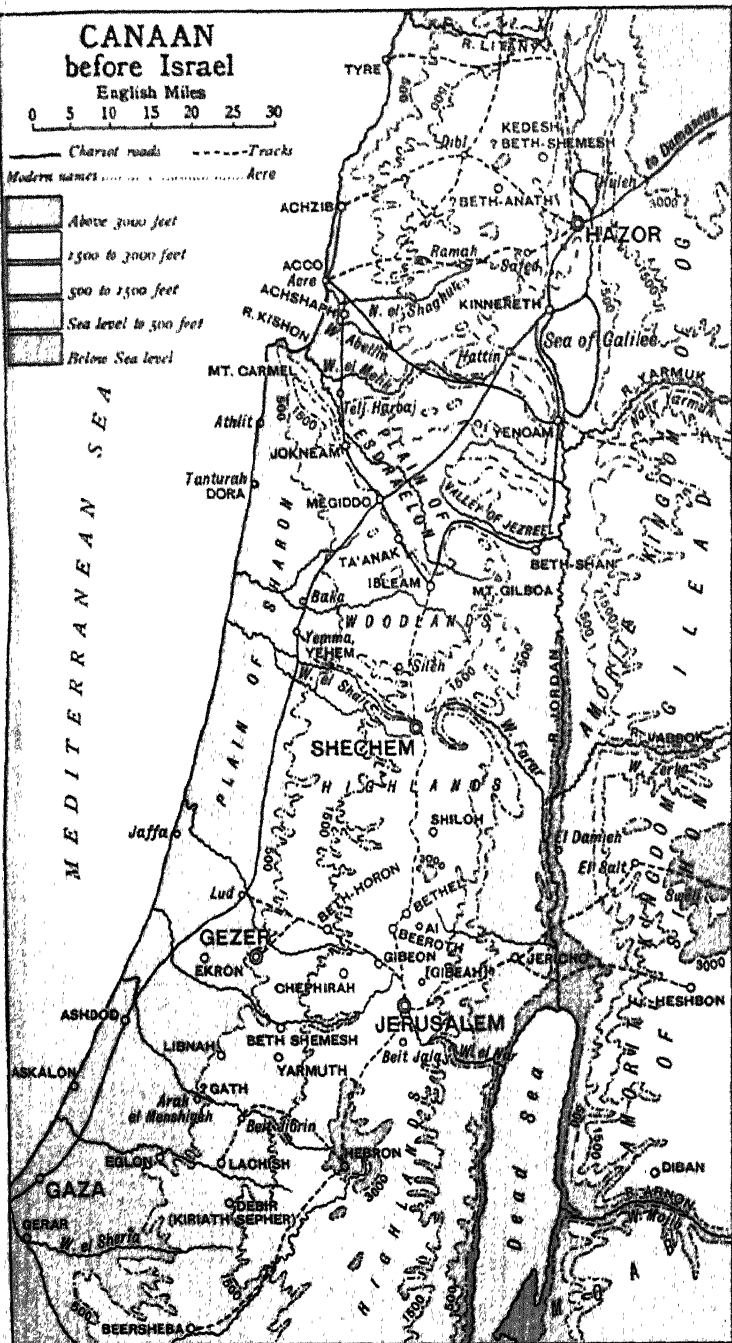
English Miles

0 5 10 15 20 25 30

----- Chariot roads ----- Tracks
Modern names ----- Acre



MEDITERRANEAN SEA



CHAPTER II.

THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLES.

The boundaries of Palestine are undefined, and its borders are exposed. Lesson of the Canaanite organization. Strategic weakness of successive political centres : Hazor, Shechem, Gaza and Jerusalem. Race and distribution of the population in ancient and modern times ; a Semitic (Arab) infiltration constant.

SINCE Palestine on three sides has no definite boundaries, it is not well adapted to become the cradle of one particular race ; nor can it claim for its population a continuous national history. Indeed, only at long intervals and for relatively short periods has it ever been ruled from within.¹ It is essentially a part of Syria, with which it shares a common seaboard and the parallel range of mountains ; but to the east and south it merges gradually into the wide wastes of the Nejd and the Arabian deserts, while to the south-west it is linked in a similar way with Egypt. Thus, on all sides but the sea, it is necessary to single out some physical feature to serve as a boundary.

¹ E.g., in Biblical history, under the Canaanites in the north, c. 1600–1500 B.C. ; under David and Solomon, c. 1000–950 B.C. ; and under Simon Maccabæus, c. 140 B.C.

To the north of Palestine the deep gorge of the Litāny, which divides the plateau of Upper Galilee from the Lebanon, and to the east the River Jordan, which flows almost due south down the Great Rift, provide marked features convenient for political delimitation. But rivers rarely form good frontiers. The rocky bed of the lower Litāny is certainly difficult to cross, but it is relatively short, while on each side the way lies open from the north, on the one hand by the pass between the greater Lebanon and the foot of Hermon, and on the other by the coastal plains. Thus the Litāny, though marking conveniently a boundary to the map in the north, cannot claim the importance of a frontier; indeed, the line demarked by modern politicians lies a good way to the south, and divides the plateau of Upper Galilee.¹ The Jordan also, though passing through two small lakes (the Huleh and the Sea of Galilee), and in its lower course occasionally itself of considerable depth, can be forded, except during the season of melting snows on Hermon, in a hundred places, and its desolate borders in the Rift are crossed by as many trails, which facilitate communication. So that, while its singularity, the directness of its course, and the peculiar loneliness of its inhospitable valley, make it an acknowledged landmark, it has never opposed an effective barrier to the activities of the people on either side.

¹ The present northern frontier has all the defects of a political compromise: it separates some villages from their historic associations, if not actually dividing their lands, while from the military standpoint it makes of the Huleh Basin an indefensible salient.

To-day, though the administrations east and west of the river differ in their constitution, both are controlled by the same Mandatory Power.¹ Under the Turks and Byzantines the distinction was even less marked; while under the Romans, from the time of Herod till the fall of Jerusalem, the political separation was largely effaced, the Decapolis of Greek cities on the east being grouped for purposes of administration with Beisan (Scythopolis) and the neighbouring parts of Galilee on the west. During the earlier monarchy we find the wars and raids of the Israelitish kings carried beyond the river without serious difficulty; while under the Judges the Hebrew tribes passed freely from side to side and claimed territory on both banks.² In the beginning, it is true, fords of the river are occasionally mentioned as the tactical points in connexion with local raids,³ but it is clear that the Jordan never claimed the importance or filled the position of a frontier.

To the south there exists no special feature, for in that direction the coastal plains and the Judæan hills merge almost imperceptibly into the deserts of

¹ By Mandate of the League of Nations, Palestine and Trans-Jordan are confided to Great Britain and governed by a High Commissioner. Heads of government departments and chief executive officers are mostly British, holding appointment under the Colonial Office. In Trans-Jordan the Amir Abdallah is titular head of an Arab administration advised by a Chief British Representative and other experienced officials.

² Cf. Judges xi, 9, JE.; xi, 11, J.; xi, 13, E. 2 Sam. xvii, 22. An Egyptian inscription discovered at Beisan also records an inroad from Pella on the opposite bank. Rowe, *Mus. Journ.*, Phil., 1929, p. 93, l. 17.

³ Cf. Judges iii, 28, JE.; vii, 24, J; xii, 5, J.

northern Arabia. A glance at the map of Palestine at various epochs in its history will show that even the administrative boundary on that side has exhibited little consistency.¹ A convenient line may be traced from the Mediterranean by way of the Wady El Sherîa, the most far-reaching watercourse of the region, passing Beersheba and El Meleh as far as Shamra, whence by the Wady el Jerabi it will join the Dead Sea near its foot. At different times and to a variable extent this natural line has in fact been utilized, and it marks off the areas claiming settled life in any form; but as a frontier it is useless, and as a boundary it has had no permanence. Under Pompey's organization and again under the Roman Procurators it was frankly abandoned, and replaced by a straight line artificially drawn from the Mediterranean to the south end of the Dead Sea. To-day the boundaries of Palestine with Arabia and with Egypt, though farther afield,² are arranged by a similar convention.

In view of the foregoing considerations, it will evidently be convenient for our purposes to regard Palestine west of Jordan, which may be called Lesser Palestine, as extending from the Litāny in the north to the Wady el Sherîa in the south, and as comprising all the tract of coastal plains and mountains between the Mediterranean and the valley

¹ See Sir George Adam Smith's *Atlas of the Holy Land*, maps 31-46.

² The present boundary between Palestine and Egypt runs S.S.E. from the Mediterranean, near Rafa, south of Bir Qamle, to Ras el Nagb, near the head of the Gulf of Akabah. The penin-sula of Sinai thus lies wholly in Egyptian territory.

of the Jordan, including the Dead Sea. Greater Palestine, on the other hand, will embrace all the basin of the Jordan, ^{Conventional frontiers.} reaching out eastward to the watershed of that river, and extending from the foot of Hermon in the north to the gulf of Akabah in the south. Westward it will include all Lesser Palestine and reach southward to the frontier of Egypt. The area will be much the same, in fact, as that of the present Mandated Territory of Palestine with Trans-Jordan.

Being without natural defences to help towards security and internal unity of organization, Palestine has nearly always been constrained to rely upon the protection of some external power, or else lie exposed on all sides to the depredations of its greater neighbours. Its internal features did not contribute to that union of its inhabitants which might have enabled them to organize their own protection from within. The dominion established by David in the tenth century B.C. over Greater Palestine was only maintained under Solomon by arrangement and with the help of Egypt, and rapidly disintegrated from external and internal causes when that protection was withdrawn.¹ The earlier Canaanite organization of the fifteenth century B.C., which barred the penetration of the Israelites in the north,² while taking full advantage of the physical peculiarities of the country, discloses equally the limitations which they imposed. This

¹ Cf. 1 Kings iii, 1; ix, 16; also 1 Kings xii, 1 ff, and xiv, 25, 30.

² Joshua xvii, 11, 16, J.; Judges i, 27, J.

power was centred upon Hazor in the Huleh Basin,¹ and maintained relations with the Phœnician coast, in particular with Sidon,² with which it was connected by a permanent route.³ Other roads passing either side of Hermon converged upon the site from the Hittite North and from Damascus. Hazor occupied in fact a key position. Its principal features included a vast protected camp, dating back to the great Hyksos days⁴; and it had clearly developed as a chariotry centre, for which it was well chosen and had peculiar advantages. As such its power would control all the neighbouring plains and valleys, and its influence would extend far along the practicable chariot roads. Tradition is quite clear about its predominant position:⁵ "Hazor beforetime was the head of all those Kingdoms."

In the physical map of Palestine it will be seen that the three principal features of the land, its coastal plains, its central ridge of highland, and its Jordan Rift, which form roughly parallel systems, are severally broken or interrupted at about one-third of their course from north to south by the headland of Carmel, the central plain of Esdraelon, and the Sea of Galilee; so that northern and southern Palestine are physically separated, and this

¹ Joshua xi, 1, J. The site, discovered by the writer in 1927, lies about 4 miles west from the foot of the Huleh Lake, not on the hills as once supposed; it was described with maps and plans in the *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology*, vol. XIV, pp. 35 ff.

² *Tell El Amarna Letters*, Ed. Knudtzon, No. 148, cf. Joshua xi, 8 J.

³ *Joshua*: *Judges*, p. 104 and Pl. xlv; cf. St. Mark vii, 24, 31.

⁴ For fuller account, cf. *Joshua*: *Judges*, Appendix, p. 381 ff.

⁵ Joshua xi, 10, D.

fact has always proved an obstacle to the expansion of any local power. The natural chariot areas of northern Palestine—that is, the coastal plain around Acre, Esdraelon, and the upper Jordan valley, form a ring round the somewhat inaccessible central plateau of Galilee, the northern half of which, in particular, i.e., upper Galilee, though traversed by numerous pack roads, is for the most part rock-strewn and quite unsuitable for chariots. It is true that lower Galilee might be crossed by way of the inland plains and gentler contours, and it may be presumed that here certain chariot routes would be maintained in the great days of Hazor. The Wady el Shaghur, which descends from Safed by Rameh to Acre (now open to motor vehicles), offers the most direct line from Hazor to the coast; but the initial ascent to Safed is very steep. Further south the Wady Abellîn, through which passes the historic “Way of the Sea”¹ coming from beyond Jordan, and south again the Wady el Melik, which leads towards modern Haifa, both present openings to the coastal plain;² but to join these from Hazor it would be necessary to traverse the higher ground between the Huleh and Kinnereth³ on the Sea of Galilee.

The valley of the Upper Jordan between the lakes is rough, being cut through a basaltic plateau,

¹ Isaiah ix, 1.

² For a study of the plain and these routes, see *Bull. B.S.A.J.*, No. 2, pp. 10 f.

³ Kinnereth, later Genesaret, stood on the mound called Tell Oreimeh, at the north-west angle of the lake, and in full view of Hattin, the next station on the old road. It was called K.n.n.r.t. in the list of towns captured by Thutmose III (No. 34), and an inscription of that Pharaoh has actually been found upon the site.

and accordingly does not offer any facilities to horse and chariot; though further south it widens and the way is easy to Beisan, whence Esdraelon may be reached by the open valley of Jezreel. This route involves a long detour, and to avoid this the Egyptians maintained a direct road from Kinnereth to Hattîn, and so past the foot of Tabor to Megiddo across the plain.¹ Thus the watershed between Hazor and Kinnereth must be crossed in either case, but though rising about 1,000 feet in a distance of 12 miles and passing through stony ground, it presents no insuperable difficulty. Being the only way to the north, and the main route to Damascus, it was indispensable to the Canaanites as to the Egyptians, and has probably always been maintained for wheeled traffic from that time.² The local obstacles must have been faced and overcome by the Canaanite chieftains of Hazor when they sought to establish a confederated power over the coasts and plains of Palestine.

The hill country to the south, however, and the open frontiers beyond, proved too difficult to control from their distant northern centre, and the natural boundary to their activities lay along the southern border of Esdraelon, where accordingly all the passes from the south were guarded by a line of walled cities, Jokneam, Megiddo, Taanak, Ibleam, and Bethshan, which formed an imposing barrier.³ Doubtless at times, aided by their maritime relations, they extended their influence through these

¹ See further, *Joshua: Judges*, pp. 94-95.

² Cf. *Papyrus Anastasi*, i, 21, 7 (ed. Gardiner, p. 23), also *IMaccabees*, xi, 67 f.

³ See note 2, p. 19 above.

passes to the south-western coast, but here also other forces were at work. Finally, under Thutmose III, soon after 1500 B.C., the siege and capture of Megiddo¹ by the Egyptian imperial army broke through the line of defences and put an end to this effort at combined independence on the part of the Canaanites, though they had utilized natural advantages to the full and were possessed of a formidable arm of war.

The southern highlands, which seem to have remained largely outside this Canaanitish scheme, form geographically an isolated unit, bounded as they are on the north and west by the plains of

Southern highlands. Esdraelon and the coast, on the east by the Great Rift, and on the south by the deserts, and they demanded of their inhabitants a mode of life entirely strange and difficult to those who dwelt more comfortably around its borders. The land is rocky and tedious to cultivate, except for a number of small upland plains, and it seems to have been given over, especially in the north, to areas of scrub and woodland, the traces of which may still be seen notwithstanding the persistent depredations of the goat. It is, moreover, scoured and broken by innumerable watercourses, which, though usually dry, are often surprisingly rugged and steep; on the east side in particular many of those which descend to the deepening Rift become almost precipitous. These physical characteristics, by dividing the tract into numerous small areas between which communication was restrained, were all, as in the north,

¹ Breasted, *Anct. Rec. Eg.*, ii, 434.

unfavourable to union among the inhabitants ; and the picture of a number of independent cities or small groups, which the rising curtain of history discloses to our view, was a natural consequence of these conditions.

In remote antiquity Shechem, near modern Nablus, appears to have been the most important of these city-states.¹ It occupied a central position in the northern part of the area, and communicated with north and south by the route which follows the main watershed along the ridge. Upon it also converged two cross-roads: the one came from the east, by way of the principal ford of the Jordan at El Damieh and up the rough and steep ascent of the Wady Farah ;² the other from the north-west by an exceptionally easy route up the Wady El Shair, which linked Shechem with the coastal plain near Yemma, at the probable site of the Egyptian Yehem.³

Shechem thus claimed a certain strategic importance, which, together with the strength of its position and of its defences, lent to this highland

stronghold a measure of independence

City-states : reflected in its history. The Egyptians
Shechem.

would usually pass it by, for it lay off the main route towards the north, which followed the coastal plain as far as Yehem and so through the Wady Arah to Megiddo ; whereas the Wady el Shaîr, though easy in grade and relatively open, trends south-east from Yemma, so that a

¹ Garstang, *El Arâbah*, p. 33 ; *Joshua : Judges*, p. 79. Peet, *The Stela of Sebek Khu* (1914), p. 4.

² A photograph appears in *Joshua : Judges*, Pl. xi, p. 90.

³ *Ibid.*, Pl. ix, p. 86.

considerable detour would be involved in visiting Shechem from that side, and no other roads would be available except the tracks which passed by way of Jerusalem.¹ For this reason, probably, Shechem was never accorded by Egypt the status which its strength and situation merited, and it is not a matter for surprise to find that in the early fourteenth century, when the Egyptian control relaxed, the Chief of Shechem was quick to assume an insubordinate attitude which culminated in a hardly veiled revolt.² Its native spirit was always strong and independent.³ Its inhabitants seem to have been Amorites, but there is no clear indication on this point. The one Biblical tradition which links them with the Hivites or Horites,⁴ who are elsewhere located more to the south, near Jerusalem, remains obscure and unsupported, though not incredible.

The traces of settled habitation on the highlands around Shechem in the Bronze Age, of which we are now speaking, are few and far between. The neighbouring woodlands, particularly towards Jordan, are said to have been in the hands of the Perizzites;⁵ but nothing more is known of these people than their name, and there is an admitted possibility that even this is a misreading in the original for a word which would appropriately connote those who dwelt in

¹ A chariot road to Jerusalem seems to have been developed by the Philistines. See below, pp. 238, 339.

² Cf. *The Amarna Letters*, Kn. No. 289, etc.

³ See also in the "Book of Jubilees" and "Test. of Levy" in the *Apocrypha* xxxiv, ed. Charles, Vol. ii, pp. 64, 316, 364.

⁴ As sons of Hamor, the Hivite, "the prince of the land," Gen. xxxiv, 2, P. On the possible identity with the Horites, see below, p. 27.

⁵ Joshua, xvii, 15, J. Cf. G. A. Barton, in Hasting's *Smaller Dict. of the Bible*, p. 201.

unwalled villages, as distinct from town folk. Passages in the Book of Genesis (attributed to the J documents) give the impression that in early times the Canaanites and Perizzites were distinct elements in the pre-Israelite population.¹ This

The Perizzites. indication is amplified by a detailed allusion in the Book of Joshua, in which

the Perizzites are clearly located in the wooded hills bordering upon Ephraim, within reach of, but distinct from, the Canaanites who occupied Bethshan and the valley of Jezreel.² The tract indicated is thus the hill country between Shechem and Mt. Gilboa, and it is interesting to note that the one great settlement in this agricultural and pastoral area to-day, Tubaz, anciently Thebez, shows no signs of Bronze-Age fortifications, though it is true that with its present population of 4,000 people it must have far outgrown and covered the traces of any primitive settlement upon the site. Though the insufficiency of materials must be recognized, it seems probable that the Perizzites were a non-Canaanitish element in the population, who lived in the wooded hills between Shechem and Bethshan, and differed racially, at least to some extent, from those who had secured the towns.

Passing south beyond the hills of Ephraim we come to the Hivite area, which lies to the south-west of Bethel, and is separated from the zone of Jerusalem, distant only some seven miles, by a ridge. Here again we are confronted by an initial difficulty, in that the racial character of the

Hivite cities. Hivites is not known, nor is there any indication as to the peculiarity

¹ Gen. xiii, 7, J.; xxxiv, 30, J.

² Joshua xvii, 14-18, J.

that distinguished them politically and socially from their neighbours. It has even been suggested that the name itself may have been misread in the Hebrew for an original "Achæans,"¹ an attractive theory which is, however, almost beyond the bounds of historical possibility. A more plausible emendation, which we tentatively accept, would read "Horite" for "Hivite," and would thus regard this group as a branch of the old racial stock which gave its name, *Kharu* in Egyptian, to the southern highlands of Palestine, and had its centre apparently in eastern Mesopotamia, where it became the source of the "Hurrian" civilization and inscriptions.² These Horites, i.e., the Hivites, occupied four walled towns, the sites of which have been located: Gibeon, Beeroth, Chephîrah and Kirjath Jearim.³ These are strategically placed: the first beside the main road from Jerusalem to Jaffa; the second upon the high road towards the north; the other two overlooking possible lines of approach from the coastal plain. They had no special outpost to command the approaches from the Jordan valley to the east; indeed, their territory lay back, westward from the watershed, whereon Gibeah, Bethel and Ai stood like independent sentinels. The Hivite cities were leagued as a tetrapolis, an organized group of four, in which there appears to have been no individual chief, affairs being managed by a council of elders. In this particular, there is some suggestion of Ægean affinity in their organization;

¹ Cf. *Camb. Anct. Hist.* ii, p. 380 n., 537.

² Cf. Speiser in *A.S.O.R.* xiii, p. 16 ff.; also below p. 146.

³ Joshua ix, 3, ff. J.; 17, P.; x, 2, E. Cf. G. Adam Smith, *Hist. Geog.*, 1931, p. 205 n.; also *Joshua: Judges*, p. 163.

but the excavation of Beeroth, which seems to have preceded Mizpah on the mound of Tell El Nasbeh, has thus far disclosed nothing culturally foreign to the country.

Jerusalem stood, like Shechem, at the junction of two main cross-roads, that which followed the tortuous watershed from north to south, and that which connected the Port of Jaffa with the countries beyond the Jordan by way of Jericho and the fords of the river just above its mouth.

Jerusalem. Its surroundings are stony and rather arid. It looked down the Wady el Nar, one of the steep valleys descending to the Dead Sea, and was defended, like all the great cities of the Bronze Age, by a wall of stone.¹ Though not rivalling Shechem in strength or situation, from the Egyptian standpoint it was more conveniently placed as a local centre, and at the time of the Amarna Letters it is found that the Pharaoh had already appointed there his special nominee, named Abd-Khipa, to safeguard his imperial interests. In the preceding generation, according to the Biblical tradition, its "King" had been called Adoni-Zedek. The former name looks like a Hittite compound,² while the latter is wholly Semitic, a contrast and combination in seeming agreement with the later ethnical suggestion of Ezekiel, "thy father was an Amorite, thy mother a Hittite."³

¹ *Joshua*: *Judges*, Pl. xxxviii, p. 170, cf. *P.E.F. Annual*, iv, 1923-5, pp. 17 ff.

² Cf. Sayce, "*Hittite and Mitannian Elements in the O.T.*," in *Jour. Theol. Stud.*, xxxix, 1928, p. 116. Melchizedek (Gen. xiv, 18) is another compound of Zedek related to Jerusalem.

³ Ezek. xvi, 3.

The early history of Jerusalem, both racial and political, is, however, obscure. It is presumably the same as Salem of Genesis xiv, 18, but there is no clear mention previous to the Amarna Letters, in the early part of the fourteenth century B.C. Later it became known to the Israelite chroniclers as the City of Jebus, and its people as Jebusites, a fact reflected into the earlier traditions.¹ Whether this change was brought about by the prominence of a particular chieftain "Jebus" in the pre-Davidic period, or by a fresh racial influx is not evident; but in any case the new name proved to be transient. The fact that in the time of David another personal name, Araunah, again betrays a Hittite origin,² suggests that the mixed character of the population remained much the same.

From Jerusalem the ridge road leads south past Hebron to Beersheba and so to Egypt, while other routes lead through Beit Jibrin either direct to Gaza or to Daroma by way of Lachish.³ The efficacy of these routes was tested at the time of the Israelite invasion, when the King of Jerusalem summoned his co-vassals from Hebron, Yarmuth, Lachish and Eglon (or Adullam) to help him chastise the Gibeonites, who had made a league with Israel.⁴ The story is well known, but it is to be recognized that the alliance called up by the King of Jerusalem reveals the Egyptian organi-

**Hittites
and
Amorites.**

¹ Compare, for example, Joshua ix, 1, D. with Joshua x, 1, J. The name in the Amarna Letters is invariably Jerusalem, e.g., Kn. Nos. 287, 289, etc.

² Sayce, "*The Hittite Name Araunah*," *Journ. Theol. Stud.* xxii, 1921, p. 267.

³ Cf. *Eusebius Onomasticon*, ed. Klostermann (1924), pp. 120-1.

⁴ Joshua x, 1, J.; cf. *Joshua: Judges*, pp. 169 ff.

zation ; for all four places that responded lay on the several roads leading towards Gaza and Egypt. They were, moreover, too widespread and differently placed, some on the hills and others on the plain, to represent any purely racial or local combine, though all are classed together as Amorite cities in the Biblical narrative.

The Hittite element extended,¹ according to traditions added late to the text, as far as Hebron, for it was there that Abraham is said to have bought a field from " Ephron " the Hittite. The name Ephron has not, however, a Hittite appearance, and probably the story embodies anachronisms, especially as the predominant element among the inhabitants at the time of Joshua and Caleb was clearly different in race, and apparently of the old local stock of Anakim, a name which can be traced back in Egyptian records as early as the time of Abraham.²

Historically, there are three occasions when a Hittite penetration may have been effected : (a) During the Hyksos period (c. 1700 B.C.), when a Hittite King Telebinus of Asia Minor extended his rule as far as " Damashunas " (evidently Damascus) ;³ and there would be in any case much coming and going of peoples between Syria and Egypt. (b) During the H̄abiru inroads of the Tell El Amarna period (c. 1370 B.C.), which was the immediate sequel to a

¹ The passages in the Book of Genesis, xxiii, 3-20, xlix, 29, 30 and i. 13, referring to this transaction with Hittite settlers are all ascribed by critics to P.

² The LXX describes Kiriath Arba as the mother (city) of Anak. Cf. Dussaud, in *Syria*, viii, 1927, p. 218.

³ Fo. 2. Bo.T.U., 23 A 111 ; cf. Garstang, *Hittite Empire*, p. 3.

strong push southwards by the Hittite King Sub-biluliuma, who wrested the empire of Syria from the Pharaohs and visited Kadesh in person.¹ (c) After the battle of Kadesh (c. 1288 B.C.), when Ramses II withdrew to Egypt, and Hittite mercenaries pushed onwards into southern Palestine.²

Thereafter references to Hittite soldiers and adventurers are familiar in the records, and reflect the martial spirit aroused among the Syro-Hittite states further north by the Assyrian advance. Probably each of these epochs was marked by an infiltration of Hittites into the population of Palestine. Their presence at Jerusalem, in particular, may be regarded as historical, and as having become effective already before the Amarna period.

Looking back at this brief survey of the highland peoples and their relations, we are impressed by the **Distribution of ancient racial elements.** fact that at least five different political groups, belonging (so far as can be seen) to as many different social elements, Anakim, Hittites, Horites, Amorites, Perizzites, occupied their own independent areas, safeguarding their own institutions in apparent seclusion, even after the Pharaohs' armies had annexed the territory as a whole to the Egyptian Empire. No better illustration could be desired to demonstrate the disunity which the features of the country fostered. We also read with better understanding and appreciation the ethnical statement incorporated in the Book of Numbers:—

“Amalek dwelleth in the South: and the

¹ Cook in *C.A.H.* II, pp. 296 ff. Cf. *Joshua: Judges*, p. 256.

² Breasted, *Anct. Rec. Eg.*, iii, 352–357, and 360. Cf. Olmstead, *Hist. Pal. and Syria*, p. 222 ff.

Hittite and the Jebusite and the Amorite dwell in the mountains; and the Canaanite dwelleth by the sea and along the side of Jordan."—(Num. xiii, 29–30, JE.)

In the passage quoted, a clear distinction is drawn between the zones of the Amorite and the Canaanite, and as the indications agree in all other respects with our observations, we may accept this allusion as describing their original distribution.¹ The confusion between Amorite and Canaanite, apparent in numerous later references, doubtless arose from the gradual mingling of these two elements in the population, after the downfall of the Canaanite *régime*. This we have already discussed, in so far as it affected the north and the interior; it only remains to examine the position upon the seaboard.

Allusion has already been made to the relations between Hazor, the Canaanite headquarters, and Sidon, and it is clear from the old ethnical traditions incorporated in the tenth chapter of Genesis,² that at one time the whole of the coastal plain, from the latter place as far as Gaza in the south, was regarded as the territory of the Canaanites and peopled to some extent by their stock. Speaking generally, this narrow strip of coastland is dominated by the hills towards the east and lies exposed towards the sea, so that actual independence could hardly be attained by its inhabitants, whose very security demanded support from one side or the other. Its

The
maritime
plains.

¹ Note for example the distinction drawn in Judges i between the Canaanites of Gezer (v. 29) and the Amorites of Aijalon and other places on the foothills (vv. 34, 35).

² Gen. x, 19, J.

associations with Sidon and Hazor provided just the protection that was needed. The harbours of Jaffa and Acre, not to mention several intervening creeks like those of Tanturah (Dora)¹ and Athlit, and the embryo port of Haifa, though not offering shelter to an invading fleet against the variable winds and constant swell along the coast, were sufficient to maintain regular maritime relations on a small scale with a neighbouring sea people who could choose their time. Moreover, the fact that the main highway to the north led from Gaza through the plains, until nearing Carmel it passed through the Wady Arah to Megiddo, afforded a further chance of communication and a protecting link. For Megiddo, as we have seen, was a chief outpost on the natural frontier of the Canaanite organization of the interior, within reach of the chariots of Hazor; so that the hold of the Canaanites over the coastal plain as far as Gaza, in the days of their unchallenged ascendancy, would seem to be both plausible and the natural outcome of their advantageous situation. But there was an evident limit to this expansion, based ultimately upon the geographical factors.

The coastal plain is not a continuous unit, but is divided, as already stated, into two distinct areas by the headland of Carmel. This advances so abruptly

Plain of Acre.	to the sea, and the region of Sharon to its immediate south was so overgrown and swampy, that no road seems to have made its way along the coast until relatively modern times, and for much the same reasons
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¹ Cf. *B.S.A.J. Bull.*, No. 4 (1924), Pl. I.

the development of a port at Haifa had not yet begun. The northern part of the plain was thus really distinct, and its history shows this to have been the case. Acre (the ancient Acco or Acho) was its natural centre, from which roads radiated in several directions.¹ Northwards a route over the difficult rocky point called the Ladder of Tyre connected it with that place and with Sidon itself. North-eastward a highland track, doubtless ancient, now leads over the upper plateau of Galilee, by way of Dibl and Bint Um el Jebeil, to connect with Hazor and so with other routes northwards through the upper basin of the Jordan.²

A direct road led eastward by an easier grade, past Rameh, around the foot of Jebel Jermuk, and over the heights of modern Safed to descend upon Hazor near the Huleh lake, or on Kinnereth beside the Sea of Galilee. But the main trade route of antiquity from Acre, crossing the plain by Tell Keisan (possibly Achshaph) passed inland by the Wady Abellin, and so by easy stages across the small plains of lower Galilee to the ford of Jordan at Tell Abeidiyeh (the Egyptian Yenoam).³ This was the "Way of the Sea," and was appropriately so named by the prophet Isaiah, for it is the main trade route connecting the seaport with the richer countries of the East. Southwards, another route through the plain linked Acre with Megiddo and the road systems of Esdraelon. Thus Acre with its plain, though sharing its outlook with the ports of Tyre and Sidon, provided easier access to the interior than either of

¹ *B.S.A.J. Bull.*, No. 2, Pl. i and p. 10.

² Cf. *Joshua: Judges*, p. 194, and map, p. 195.

³ *Ibid.*, Pl. iv, and p. 73.

its richer neighbours. But the security of these roads was clearly vital to its inland trade. So long as the Canaanite organization controlled the situation all was well; but, after the downfall of Hazor, Acre turned more and more towards the sea, and shared its history with Phoenicia rather than with Palestine.

The coastal plains south of Carmel, Sharon and Philistia, are not only separated from that of Acre, but, lacking a natural seaport and bordering upon Egypt, have had a distinct history. The determining factor in the situation was, however, political: the main highroad which traversed the plain from Gaza to Yehem was indispensable to the Pharaohs alike for the administration of their empire in Syria as for the furtherance of their imperial ambitions; so that from 1500 B.C., and to some extent even earlier, the plains of Sharon and Philistia, into which the southern coastlands are naturally divided, formed almost a frontier province of Egypt, sharing its fortunes and worn down by the heels of its soldiery. When the Egyptian protection weakened, dissatisfaction showed itself, and during the anarchy which followed on the apathy of Akhenaton (1370 B.C.), the H̄abiru conspiracy and invasion played havoc among the leading cities of the area, including Gezer, Gath, Lachish, Askalon and Gaza.

The greatest episode in its history was, however, reserved for a later stage (c. 1200 B.C.), when the old Bronze Age world was changing, giving way before new forces, and the power of Egypt was on the wane. More than once the Syrian coast had been raided by bands of Sea Rovers, to whom the trade relations of

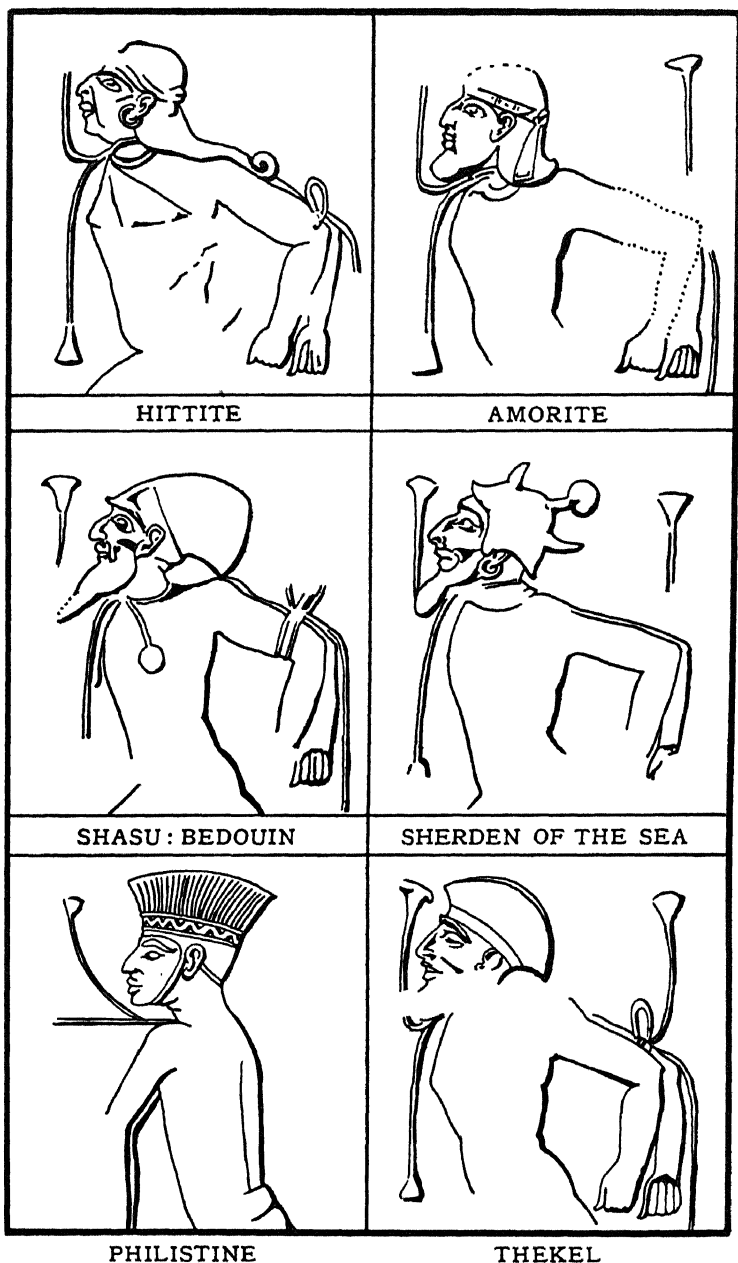
Egypt in more prosperous days had made known the way, and similar adventurers from Asia Minor had fought against Egypt as hirelings of the Hittite king at Kadesh on the Orontes in 1288 B.C. One such group, including Achæans, Lycians and others, seems to have come by sea from Greece and Asia Minor by way of Cyprus,¹ and actually descended upon the coast of Egypt, whence they were expelled by Merneptah about 1225 B.C. Then, with dramatic suddenness, following the downfall of the Hittite barrier in the interior of Asia Minor, a great horde of migrants, including this time Philistines and Thekels as well as Syrian Hittites, poured southwards by land and sea against the Syrian frontiers of Egypt. It was the Pharaoh Ramses III who was called upon to stem the torrent (c. 1193 B.C.), and though his resistance was successful in warding off the menace from Egypt proper, the passing of the storm left the Egyptian Empire a wreck.

Already, with the weakening of Egypt's ruling power in the previous generations, the protection of its Syrian provinces had been entrusted more and more to mercenary troops, from amongst whom, for example, Sherdens or Achæans seem to have been stationed as the garrison at Bethshan.² Now, the Pharaoh was again constrained to settle groups of his new prisoners in certain strongholds under oath of allegiance and "bound in his name."³ Soon afterwards the Philistines were installed in the five strong places of Gaza, Askalon, Ashdod, Ekron, and

¹ *Hittite Empire*, pp. 10, 43.

² *Mus. Journ.*, Phil., 1922, pp. 22 ff; *Rev. Bibl.*, 1923, p. 430 f.

³ Breasted, *Anc. Rec. Eg.*, iv, 403.



RACIAL ELEMENTS AND INVADERS OF PALESTINE
TAKEN PRISONERS BY RAMSES III: c. 1190 B.C.

Gath; while a later reference suggests that their companion Thekels were stationed in similar fashion, and probably at the same time, in the plain of Sharon.¹ The association of the Philistines with Bethshan in the age of Saul,² and the traces of a foreign garrison at Jericho, recently discovered, show that this policy was widely applied and for a time effective.

The almost paternal attitude of the Philistines at the outset of their relations with the settling Israelites, can be readily explained if we can regard the former as the police force of Egypt. Law-abiding men of Judah, calling on Samson to cease from his resistance, properly explained the situation when they said, according to the narrative,³ "Knowest thou not that the Philistines have rule over us?" It was only when the name of Egypt ceased to inspire fear or confidence that the rivalry of these two peoples developed into an embittered struggle. This ended inevitably with the absorption of the foreign Philistine element. When the commercial genius of Solomon enabled him to conclude an alliance with Egypt for trade purposes, the zone of Philistine activities was narrowed down to the strip of sea-board, and a Philistine element was incorporated in the royal bodyguard.⁴ In this struggle for the possession of Palestine between East and West, the victory remained with the Semite.

One fact stands out significantly from this rapid

¹ In the story of Wen-Amon, date about 1100 B.C. Breasted, *op. cit.*, iv, 558.

² 1 Sam. xxxi, 10. Below pp. 125, 240.

³ Judges xv, 11 J.

⁴ See below, ch. x, pp. 338, 349.

survey, namely, that nature provided no strategic centre which even in favourable circumstances might dominate both hills and plains. The several successive efforts to hold the country from within emanated from different points. **Strategic weakness of geographical centres.** Shechem seems to have attained considerable pre-eminence in very early days, but the extent of its power remains unknown, and its great day was already past when our historic period begins. The three other centres we have already discussed; these relied in some measure on external help. Hazor and Gaza lay indeed only just within the confines of lesser Palestine: the former looked towards Sidon and other allies in the north; the latter was chosen by Egypt as the nearest convenient city from which to administer the area, and the Philistine organization made use of this purely political advantage. Jerusalem, though strongly placed and a good road centre for the southern sector of the highlands, could claim no special geographical advantage such as might make it the capital even of lesser Palestine. Its rise was in a sense fortuitous; as a stronghold for the warrior King it was admirably situated, but its proximity to Egypt, diplomatically utilized, was the main source of its political importance. Apart from that external factor its position was less advantageous as a whole than that of Shechem farther to the north.

Geographically, indeed, the heart of the country lay still further to the north, in the plain of Esdraelon, and its strongest city, Megiddo, would appear on tactical grounds to have been the best placed as a national centre. Roads radiated from it

in all directions ;¹ but these, as is general throughout Palestine, are highways leading beyond the confines of the territory, ever liable to be seized and utilized by stronger powers. That from the north to the south presented openings to the Hittites at the one end and to the Egyptians at the other, so truly that the first great conflict between these historic rivals was fought around the walls of Megiddo itself. As a sequel to earlier raids of the Pharaohs in the north, about 1500 B.C. Thutmose III found his way

barred by a Hittite-Amorite combina-
Megiddo
and
Esdraelon.
tion, in which we may possibly see a reflection of the older Hyksos organization: "The Vile Enemy of Kadesh has come and entered Megiddo."² The story is well known. The challenge drew out the Pharaoh in full strength by the Wady Arah to the plain of Esdraelon, where he rolled up the enemy lines, and after a siege recaptured the rebellious city.

In like manner the east-west road, instead of proving a source of strength, attracted dangers. Ending at Acre upon the sea, it lay exposed on that side to occasional raid and at all times to the dominant maritime power that controlled the coast. On the other hand, by the open corridor of Jezreel, of which Bethshan is the historic guardian, it spread out its arms across Trans-Jordan towards Arabia, wherein the desert routes are as numerous and unending as tracks upon the sea. Two main avenues from Arabia are, however, well defined: the one comes from Jôf, in the south-east, by the

¹ See the map facing p. 15.

² Breasted, *Anct. Rec. Eg.*, ii, 420.

Wady Sirhan—the “Way of the Nomads”;¹ the other follows, and has done so from time immemorial, the eastern edge of the arable land—the “Pilgrim’s Road” of modern times. Other routes from the north-west, from the Hauran and Damascus, no less than those from the north and south by the Jordan valley, all connect with Beisan. A single city could not cope with the bigger movements which ever and again advanced against Palestine by one or other of these approaches.

The history of Esdraelon provides full illustration of its disadvantages on both sides. The Tyranny of Sisera (*c.* 1200 B.C.), centred in the plain of Acre, was able to make full use of the relations already established under the Canaanite *régime* of Hazor, between the coasts of Acre and the row of strong cities between Megiddo and Bethshan. This situation, which barred the way to the unity of Israel, called forth under Barak and Deborah the rally of the northern and southern tribes in the first common effort of a growing nation.² From the east, on the other hand, by way of Jezreel, came the incursion of the Midianites, desert hordes seeking pasture, who by sheer weight of numbers held the neighbouring tribes at their mercy until released by the strategy and swift pursuit of Gideon.³ So that Esdraelon, instead of fulfilling the *rôle* which its central position and communications seem to command, proved in fact to be the most vulnerable part of the country and the battlefield of external powers.

¹ Cf. *Joshua* : *Judges*, p. 321, and map 17.

² *Judges* iv, 6, ff. E, and v, 14–19, E.

³ *Judges* viii, 4, ff. E.

We conclude this survey, then, as we began. From every point of view we find Palestine to be a land naturally disunited from within, and readily accessible from without, and we realize as a historic fact that it has not the makings of an independent country.

**Palestine
disunited
and exposed
to invasion.**

Not only is it broken up by mountains, plains and valleys into numerous distinct areas small in size, but these are so disposed as actually to facilitate invasion or, at any rate, the steady infiltration of people from outside. We may well ask at this stage, what was it that endowed this borderless and disunited area with those special attributes that made of it a cradle for the Israelites, the birth-place of the Jews, the burial place of the Philistines, and produced from its complex civilization so much that has affected the world at large? Palestine has been well called the meeting-place of civilizations, and from the study of its social history we may truly regard it as the point where the great nations of the Near East necessarily overlapped. Looking through the pages of history covering the period of this volume, we see that from the time when the Canaanites, centred on Hazor, ruled the best part of the area from within, it was attacked in turn by the Hittites from the north, the Egyptians from the south, the Israelites from the east, and the Philistines from overseas; and these were followed by Assyrians, Romans, Arabs, Turks and now the British, coming like their predecessors from every side. To those from the north it marked the limits to the possibilities of settlement; to the Egyptians of the imperial age it formed their frontier province and the starting point for their military adventures further

north. To the Arab world it loomed upon the horizon as the nearest point where water never entirely failed and settlement might some day be possible ; and the nomad Arab has ever hovered upon its borders.

If we study the list of those who have played a part in the destinies of Palestine, and contributed something towards its complex civilization, we find the nomad Arab alone to have been present through all the ages. The incursions of other peoples in most cases have been relatively transient, and some of the powers which at intervals dominated the country belong now to the past, leaving no modern representatives in the political arena. But the Arabs remain, as potential to-day as when the Aramæans first separated from their Semitic home, and still subject to the same impulses of nature that drive them from time to time to seek new pastures in the North. The Negeb, or lowlands, of southern Palestine and the wide stretch of partial desert to the east of the Arabah and the Jordan have always attracted them ; and whenever the distribution of population in the interior of Arabia is disturbed by a migration, the movement of the nearer western tribes is directed invariably towards Palestine and Sinai.

The chief Arab incursion in modern history, that which was associated with the Mohammedan movement in the seventh century A.D., has left settled communities at numerous points in the interior. Some of these, like the Beni Hassan in the villages of Bittîr and Beit Jala, south-west of Jerusalem, have been absorbed by their environment and taken to the normal occupations of village life. Others,

like the Beni Salim of Kefr Mèlik and Rummôn, upon the eastern slopes of the Ghor, still preserve some of the habits, the instincts, and even the dress, of their nomadic ancestors. In the Negeb, though agriculture has been adopted and movement is restricted, the nomadic mode of life and customs remain practically unaffected. Here may be secured an impression of the life and position of the Israelite clan upon the Egyptian border under the friendly protection of the Hyksos rulers.

In the sub-district of Beersheba, today, are to be found the encampments of no fewer than eight tribes, large and small, with a total of some ten thousand "houses" (families by tents), numbering in all about 48,000 souls, an important factor in the population of the country. These Arabs

Distribution of semi-nomads. accept the control of the central administration, recognizing in principle the territorial rights of their habitual neighbours, and in return they are allowed to maintain most of their own institutions, including their courts. In these, complaints are tried by judges from among themselves, in accordance with tribal law and custom. Even the "ordeal by fire" is recognized as a legal institution, and indeed it is more efficacious in getting at the truth than western methods of interrogation. After the spring crop is raised, agriculture is abandoned for the year, and the tribes to some extent disperse in search of work or pasture for their flocks. Some tribes have acquired grazing rights northwards up the coastal plain, even as far as Esdraelon. These Arabs of the Negeb occupy the same ground, and probably live much the same life, as the Amalekites of

Biblical tradition; the Shasu of the Egyptian archives.

Crossing now into Trans-Jordan, the territory lying eastward of the Ghor and the Wady Arabah, we find ourselves at once in the borderland between Palestine and the Semitic world, which politically has largely shared the destinies of the one but sociologically remains inseparable from the other. Here the population is almost entirely Arab, divided into numerous tribes and sub-tribes, whose life exhibits all stages of assimilation, varying in degree more or less directly with the proximity of towns and the length of contact. Nearest to the Arabah, the Naimat, the Showabka and the Jawabri possess the sparsely cultivated zone, the former Edom, lying between the Wady Musa, which flows through Petra, and the Wady Kerahi, better known locally as the Wadi Hassa, which enters the Dead Sea at its southern end. The tract between this and the Wady Mōjib (the ancient Arnon) is inhabited by the Kerakīyeh, who, as their name implies, have adopted the town of Kerak as their centre, and thus occupy the ancient land of Moab. Outside, that is to the east and south of these half-settled tribes, the desert pastures are occupied by the vigorous Howeitat, whose life is almost entirely pastoral and nomadic.

All these southern tribes, though subject to the central administration, are differentiated by their circumstances of life as a group apart from those who dwell nearer to the Jordan or roam the neighbouring deserts. These are in chief the Beni Hamideh in the neighbourhood of Diban, the Belqawiyeh around Madeba, who range from the

neighbourhood of Amman to the Dead Sea and the lower Jordan, with the Abbad immediately to their north as far as the Jabbok. Between this river and the Yarmuk, the land, which in Roman times prospered under the fair cities of the Decapolis, is still peopled by settled peasants or Fellaheen, except for a small tract bounding that area on the east, in the upper basin of the Zerka, which has been apportioned to the chief branch of the Beni Hassan. Here this tribe of desert Arabs, who a few hundred years ago were purely nomadic, are today in the process of settling down, building houses, and adopting agriculture as a means of livelihood.

Eastward of the Beni Hassan, and hence to the north of the Howeitat, is the zone of *Ahl el Shemal*, or People of the North, the principal tribal unit of the locality being the Beni Sakhr, a powerful desert tribe which has established relations with the towns, but remains essentially nomadic.

The distribution of these Arab tribes aptly illustrates the permanent forces of environment, not only in the nomadic life of those upon the border of the cultivated tract, but in the degree of settlement reached by many of their groups. Thus the Edwan, a branch of the Belqawiyeh, of which its leaders claim the hereditary chieftainship, have their summer pastures on the plateau near Heshbon, but descend in the winter months to the Jordan valley opposite Jericho, where stone-built granaries mark the first stage of their ultimate absorption into the settled population of the area. The main branch already own land in the Jordan valley, which they cultivate through their semi-negroid *Ghowarneh* or serfs. Other

branches have secured property around Sweli, and have become cultivators as well as herdsman, and doubtless in a relatively short time this tribe, which 300 years ago was entirely nomadic, and whose territory extends by the side of the Dead Sea from El Salt as far as the Wady Mōjib, will break up into detached groups of independent villages. Already the Belqawiyeh, once a single tribe, have disintegrated into a number of sub-tribes, none of which recognizes any tribal authority other than their own sheikhs. For purposes of war, however, and other major issues, they maintain the links of kinship.

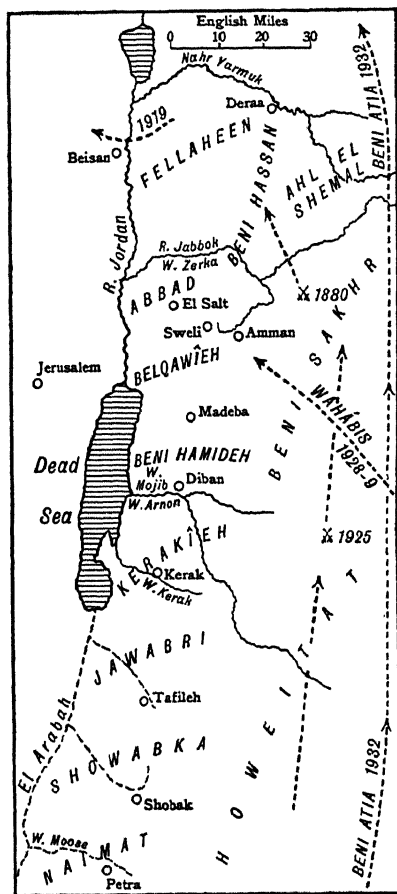
Notwithstanding the process illustrated by these examples, the survival of tribal customs and practices, seen frequently in domestic life or village institutions, also extends to tribal relationships and established feuds. Thus the Belqawiyeh and Beni Hassan, though now confined as we have seen to specified zones, regard one another as hereditary allies, and maintain this attitude in their changed social relations of to-day. Other groups attribute their movement from Arabia to some ancient feud, the memory of which is always kept alive.¹ But most informative in the present disposition of these tribes is the direction and manner of their movement

¹ One result of the continuous thrust has been the separation of tribal units which still, however, retain active memory of their relationships. Thus, the Messaid tribe of the Wady Farak has other sections in the Jebel Druze and in Egypt, the latter being still nomadic. So, too, the Sukhur-el-Ghor, a branch of the Beni Sakhr, has settled in the Jordan valley, cultivating land near the Jisr Majami. A more ancient memory survives among a family of the Hauran, the Hashish of Tell Shehab, who are now settled, and claim relationship with the sub-tribe Shamaili of the Kerakiyeh, who are still semi-nomadic. Tradition on both sides claims that they migrated together from the Nejd centuries ago, and became separated by the circumstances of the movement.

**The
Arabian
thrust.**

As recently as the year 1932 a fresh and formidable invasion threatened once again to disturb the balance of the nomad population, if not to disorganize the settled communities throughout the country. Rainfall

had been short for several years, so that the usual summer grazings were already used up in the spring. The problem of food and water during



the summer for man and herds, already grave, was small compared with the possible developments. For in northern Arabia rain had failed completely for two years, reducing the land to a desert of dry twigs and failing springs ; a vast migration, not of armed men, but of famished human beings, began to pour from the deserts in the direction of Beersheba and Trans-Jordan. The overflow reached Syria, where the Beni Atia, a Hejaz tribe, encamped for the first time in history. The government, forewarned, was able to cope with the situation thus created ; but the movement was none the less of great interest, if only because it showed the same forces to be still at work that in the beginning gave Palestine its population.

Though the recognition of a constant and direct Semitic influence provides a firm basis for our enquiry it does not offer an immediate solution. Several of the various units into which we have found the country to have been divided at the beginning seem also to claim Semitic origins or relationships, while some of the greater movements that affected the population and habits of the country, though essentially Semitic, came from different directions and at different times, bringing with them the impress of the older civilizations with which they had been in contact. We proceed accordingly in the next chapter to examine briefly the neighbourlands of Palestine, in particular those societies which may have contributed something to its complex social structure.

CHAPTER III.

SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT.

The Societies of Egypt, Babylonia and the Hittite Empire (Hatti and Mitanni). Political organization : civil administration. Law and Justice. War. Architecture. Religious practice and belief. Daily life : culture : languages and writing. Spread of civilization : cultural influences in Canaan : rise of Henotheism.

IN this chapter we survey the leading elements of those neighbouring Societies which we have seen to have enfolded Palestine from early times, in order to be in a position to appreciate in what manner, and to what extent, they may have influenced its own social evolution and internal tendencies. We begin with Egypt, which, at the time when our enquiry opens in the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries B.C., dominated the political horizon.

EGYPT.

After the expulsion of the Hyksos, shortly after 1600 B.C., Egyptian armies overran Syria, and Thutmose III a century later consolidated these conquests, fixed for a time his political frontier at the Euphrates, and established a suzerainty over the

whole of Canaan. Though pushed back from North Syria, and harassed by the Hittite-Habiru movement in the early fourteenth century, and by occasional local outbreaks, Egypt for several centuries maintained officials and small garrisons at various centres, exacting tribute and punishing its non-payment, or quelling conspiracy and rebellion by repeated military operations.

It might be thought, and such an opinion is commonly held, that under these conditions Canaan must have become Egyptianized; but an examination of the system of government and customs then prevalent in Egypt shows that this occupation had no more effect on the native civilization and structure of society than had that of the Turks in recent centuries. The sociology of Egypt is well established, and the following brief analysis of its leading elements at this time will serve to uphold this argument.

Egypt in the fifteenth century B.C. had attained the zenith of its imperial and social prosperity. Its civilization, the growth of two thousand years of continuous history, was of unparalleled complexity; yet the very fact that it had been nurtured in relative isolation under conditions that were almost changeless, makes it easier to visualize and explain its outline.¹

The dominant factor, which differentiates ancient Egypt from all other countries, was the relative immunity of its borders. Protected for a thousand

¹ The reader is referred for further details to the works of Prof. Breasted, in particular his *History of Egypt, The Ancient Records of Egypt*; and his contributions to the *Cambridge Anct. Hist.*; also in the last named work to Prof. Peet's chapter on *Contemporary Life and Thought in Egypt* (Vol. ii, ch. ix.).

miles by broad stretches of desert wastes on either side of the Nile valley, its people were able to establish their homes and pursue their avocations without fear of raid or other interference from without, so that village and town life developed in vivid contrast to the system of fortified city-states characteristic of Western Asia.

For administrative purposes the whole country was divided into districts, irregular in shape and size, to the number of about fifty. The government of the day was centralized and bureaucratic. The monarchy, which had long passed through its phases of despotism and feudal leadership, was now regarded as a divine institution, surrounded and supported by all those who acknowledged or sought the royal favour. The appointment of all chief officers of state, many privileges of the priesthood, the conduct of war, and the making of treaties with other rulers, remained the Pharaoh's personal prerogative. A Grand Vizier, the chief functionary of the realm, nominally carried out the King's wishes, but in effect controlled and directed all public offices, including the treasury and the higher courts of justice.

In the larger and formerly feudal centres the local "count" was usually recognized as the government representative; but his functions being purely administrative, and his powers executive only, his position was rather that of a Sheriff than a Chief. Smaller towns had their appointed rulers, and the villages were controlled by scribes and recorders with one of their number at their head. All these officials had some judicial powers, though

these were chiefly concerned with fiscal duties under the express direction of the Pharaoh, and it was their ideal to earn the reputation of "the poor man's vizier, who does not accept the bribe of the guilty."¹

The civil organization was largely framed upon the older feudal system, the greater landowners still being answerable, as the local representatives of the government, for the collection and Civil
administra-
tion. administration of taxes, the enlisting of soldiers, the enrolling and payment of police, the supply of forced labour, the regulation of water supply from the canals for agriculture (a permanent problem in Egypt), and the organization of the local tribunal. For these purposes registers were kept of persons and of the lands. Taxes were paid in kind, the smaller part (according to one Biblical tradition,² one-fifth) being apportioned to the central government, the larger to local needs and administration.

Administrative and other offices were in theory crown appointments, but, as a result of long experience, became largely hereditary in practice, so that the trained officials constituted a special class. Merit was nevertheless recognized, and a poor man could rise to power, or officials of proved competence could commonly hold many offices concurrently. Public works claimed the service of highly qualified officials, as well as of large staffs of specialists and scribes. For the maintenance of the irrigation system, for example, five days' service was imposed upon all labouring classes, and the possi-

¹ Breasted, *Camb. Auct. Hist.*, ii, p. 44.

² Gen. xlvii, 24, J.

bility of concentrating large gangs upon urgent works was a standing feature of the organization.

The largest and most important state department was, however, the Treasury, which was controlled directly by the Grand Vizier through his local

The deputies. As the district "payments"
Treasury. consisted of cattle, grain, wine, oil, honey, textiles, and other produce, the reception, handling and distribution of these commodities required a vast establishment of treasury officials and functionaries, with an organization of local and central depots, state granaries, and cattle yards. The officials themselves were not exempt from taxation; but this was usually collected in more manageable articles, such as silver, gold and linen, though cattle and grain were not excluded. The local viziers controlled these contributions, and personally supervised the arrangements, reserving to themselves the authority to open the magazines for the day's business after receiving a report each morning on the arrival of the chief treasurer. The vast quantities of stock and produce collected by the Revenue, and the complexity of the organization for dealing with them, can readily be imagined, though it is not possible to estimate their value.

Land was nominally held direct from the Pharaoh, whether as fiefs by favoured nobles or as divisible parcels by yeoman-tenants. Apparently both classes

Property. of holdings could be transferred by will or sale, as formerly with copyhold property in this country; and probably the larger holdings would be farmed out to actual cultivators on a share-and-share arrangement, much as to-day in Egypt. Considerable domains were possessed by

the State and priesthood, whose arrangements in practice were probably much the same. A small number of pensioners also enjoyed freehold rights, but usually for their own lifetime only. The land-labourers were mostly serfs : slavery was rare ; indeed, it was almost limited to the personal surroundings of the nobles and the King.

Property was held through the female, and the wife enjoyed the liberties and status of her husband. In village life the wife worked in the fields and went to market to barter for provisions. Monogamy was usual, though not enforced by law. By custom the women of a household had separate quarters : but the wife-proper shared in the feasts and social ceremonies in the house of her husband with his guests, and she could also entertain her friends in her private apartments. Maintenance of parents became the duty of the daughter, while the sons inherited the father's offices and responsibilities. Bequests were regulated by will ; but a noble's family estate was entailed and descended with the title, though it might be alienated by legal process.

Legal procedure and the administration of justice formed an elaborate branch of the Vizier's department. Daily audience was given to petitioners in

Justice. a special hall, and selected administrative officers heard claims in which disputes about land, then as now, were the usual feature. For such purposes the archives and land registers were kept at hand in the Vizier's offices ; no will or land transfer was valid unless registered and filed in the Vizier's hall. At the trial of cases the rolls of the law, forty in number, were laid out for reference before the Vizier's daïs, where they were doubtless

accessible to all, and were frequently appealed to by the poor. "Forget not to judge justly," was the Pharaoh's precept; "It is an abomination of the God to show partiality. As for him who shall do justice before all the people, it is the Vizier."¹ There was no summary punishment; even conspirators against the King's life were tried by a properly constituted court. In the provinces the same principles were observed, and though there was no separate class of judicial officers, the multiplicity of duties and pride of office with which each high position was surrounded gave a certain guarantee of loyal fulfilment of the Pharaoh's Laws. Those charged with the administration of justice formed a local court or council, modelled upon that of the Vizier's Hall, which was the Great Council or High Court. The composition of a court varied almost from day to day, the local vizier usually making the nominations; they contained at this time an increasing proportion from the priesthood.

The State religion attained in this age great prestige, but though the expansion of the empire indicated the possibility of a world-
Religion. God, it did not encourage the moral development of Egyptian religion. By 2000 B.C.² the Egyptians had possessed a standard of morals far superior to that apparent in the XVIIIth Dynasty. Under the stable government of the second Union, ruling by standards of justice, had arisen the earliest conception of moral order designated "Maat,"

¹ Breasted, *Camb. Anct. Hist.*, ii, p. 47.

² Breasted, *The Dawn of Conscience*, p. 20, f. Cf. Peet, *Camb. Anct. Hist.*, ii, p. 202 f.

meaning righteousness, justice, truth. The world of the gods, reflecting the moral and political conditions of the age, had become enriched with the ethical qualities attributed to the ruler. Thus Ra, earlier a King-god, had become a righteous God in a social sense, exacting right conduct in the lives of his worshippers; while the conception of a judgment after death for all alike developed into an ethical ideal, the test of the entire moral quality of every man's life. But the immense influence of this belief had become impaired by the magical suggestions in the Book of the Dead, devised for gain by priests to enable the dead to delude the dreaded judge. Moreover, the riches poured into the coffers of the temples by the victorious Pharaohs from the spoils of their Syrian conquests, enabled the priests not only to erect vaster temples, endowed with gorgeous ceremonial and a whole army of temple servants, but to attain themselves leading positions in the affairs of State. The chief deity of the Theban triad, Amon, became in consequence the leading divinity of the land, assimilating the virtues and powers of many of the older established gods. As with most of the innumerable local divinities of the Nile valley, this cult may be traceable in origin to the animism, or totem-worship, of primitive tribal history; but it had now become a conventional embodiment of an aspect of Nature worship, enveloped by a veil of mystery and magic, devoid of any visibly moral element or ethical conceptions. In general, while some few cults had long assumed a special character and national importance, fundamentally the distinction between the local deities probably lay mostly in

their difference of name, and the varying political importance of their seats. Already Amon had been associated with Ra, the Sun-god, the time-honoured deity of the old-world kings. The **Henotheistic tendencies.** increasing tendency to unification and fusion of divine attributes associated with this stage of political concentration has a peculiar interest, and seems to foreshadow the complete unification of all divine power in a single expression of godhead, which under Akhenaton in the early part of the fourteenth century B.C. emerged under the symbol of the Solar-disc from this chaos of superstition and morbid ritual.

Amid the current wave of imperial expansion the prestige of the army and the status of the soldiers gained proportionately to the fame of their foreign **Military organization.** exploits. It is one of the most striking proofs of the efficiency of the royal family and organization that few attempts at usurpation of power met with even temporary success. Two factors contributed to maintain the Pharaoh's position ; he frequently took the field in person, and according to reports he was invariably victorious. Spoils and favours were distributed among all the higher officers, whose loyalty was thus rewarded by attractive adventure as well as tangible advantages. The imperial army numbered at full strength perhaps 20,000 of all ranks, a large and steadily increasing proportion of which was composed of foreign mercenaries, among whom Asianic Sherdens, and Negroes, were conspicuous ; while the rest were recruited from the middle and lower classes of the Egyptian people. In addition to the time-honoured side arms, the spear and bow were now

used by organized detachments, while the horse and chariot, introduced by the Hyksos, had been adopted as the chief arm of war.

The population of Egypt under the Eighteenth Dynasty was classified by a census officer at the time into four groups : soldiers, priests, royal serfs, and craftsmen. This return, with the addition of the official classes, both administrative and executive, with whom evidently he was not concerned, not only acknowledges the social position accorded to the "citizens of the army," but correctly indicates so far as can be discerned the changed constitution of Egyptian society. The consistent policy of the Pharaohs had aimed with success at eliminating the dangerous feudal element in the provinces, and replacing the hereditary chieftains by land-tenants, who fulfilled the higher duties of national administration under direct orders from the Crown, and became by their associations more and more linked and merged with the growing circle of court favourites who filled the highest positions in the army and the state. The former middle class was represented by three groups, the sub-tenants who farmed the land and supplied the army, the lower grades of the administration, including the scribes and functionaries, and the old stratum of merchants, craftsmen and artists. The third class comprised the masses who worked the fields and estates and were liable to annual or special service on public works, the "Pharaoh's serfs." These formed so large a proportion that the Hebrew writer speaks only of them and the priests,¹ in the

¹ Cf. Gen. xlvii, 21.

same way that the Egyptian scribe sees among the Canaanites only nobles and slaves.

Among the "operative processes" of the Egyptian craftsmen that distinguished this period may be singled out glass-making, extending to experiment in patterns obtained by welding **Trades and industries.** bars of different colour. Glazing had become a fine art, and, in addition to the finishing of beads, scarabs and trinkets, as well as funereal *ushabti* figures, was applied to architectural decoration. The art of weaving in colours was introduced at this time from abroad. Metal work became elaborated, and employed both gold and silver as well as bronze. With leather and rope work, basketry, and wood carving, the Egyptians had been long familiar; while in sculpture, architecture and simple engineering they were past masters.

Agricultural processes were peculiar to the Nile valley, but the implements long in use included the hoe and the plough, the threshing machine and winnowing fan. Corn was the main crop; but the vine was cultivated and wine was made, the grapes being pressed out in a twisted cloth. Trees were planted in groves both for food and timber, and a great variety of new wood was imported from Syria.

For market purposes barter was the usual procedure, but in commerce a medium of exchange was found in copper rings, while weights and measures were established. Trade relations extended from the Ægean round the coasts of Asia Minor, Cyprus and Syria, on the one hand, to the borders of the Red Sea and the Upper Nile on the other. Overseas trade accounts were kept, and a form of customs was instituted at the frontiers.

The close and continuous relations with Syria produced another effect of special importance. Syrian girls were much prized, and whether as hostages or by formal contract of marriage, they found their way into Egyptian households in numbers so considerable that a change can be noticed in the facial characteristics of the upper classes. These girls became the mothers of many high officials, and their influence in Egyptian society is by no means a negligible factor. Even the royal family was affected, and in the end greatly influenced from this source. The practice of intermarriage between the Pharaohs and princesses of the Mitannian Hittite state in Mesopotamia, though instituted no doubt for diplomatic reasons, was continued through successive generations. These State marriages involved much more social intercourse than the mere dispatching of the bride, for she was attended by a large retinue of women, and numerous other marriage alliances would doubtless celebrate each great occasion. This influx of foreign blood¹ into the royal house has left its trace upon the portraits of the ruling monarchs, and cannot but have produced a powerful impression upon the thought and social customs of the upper classes.

This influence was not reciprocal. The climate of Egypt unsuited its people for life in Syria, where winter rains and snow-clad hills require appropriate powers of resistance and habits of life that can only be acquired by time. Trade relations between the countries were mostly in the hands of Semitic

¹ An Aryan element is recognized in the language of the Mitannian rulers.

merchants, and there was little to tempt Egyptians to settle in a land where the social and physical conditions were strange and uncongenial. Consequently only a few Egyptian officials actually resided in Palestine, and traces of their presence are relatively few. Even tombs are rare, and an official stationed at Bethshan has left a record of his prayer that he might have a proper funeral in the cemetery of his own town in Egypt.¹ A few official buildings and imperial monuments, erected to the Pharaoh or the familiar Egyptian gods in centres of administration like Gezer and Bethshan, alone mark their presence or the passage of the Pharaoh's troops: there is nothing to suggest that Egyptian thought or Egyptian language or social institutions impressed the native population, whatever material changes of a cultural character may have been derived from the imports, trade relations, and superior craftsmanship of the conquering country.

Burial practices in some respects were similar, for both interred their dead and furnished the graves with foodstuffs and other provisions for use in a future life. Probably these customs had a common origin in religious thought, for the Osiris cult had been connected with, if not derived from, the Syrian coast at a very early date. But there the connexion seems to end: the Egyptians learnt to embalm their dead, and placed them in separate coffins, professing belief in a sort of spiritual elysium in which the soul and the body should reunite: while, as we shall discuss more fully in a later chapter, the Canaanites allowed their dead to crumble to dust in a common

² Alan Rowe, *Topogr. and Hist. of Bethshan*, p. 37 f; *Museum Journ.*, Phil., 1925, p. 309.

grave. These two peoples, indeed, differed radically, not only in their race, political and military organization, physical environment and moral temper, but also in their religious outlook, language, commercial products, and the consequent conditions of life upon which developed their entire social system.

BABYLONIA.

As far back as the third millennium B.C. under the great Sargon of Akkad, the first Semitic ruler, Babylonian authority was extended to the Western Sea, i.e., to the Syrian coastlands, and thereafter the established culture of the Euphrates basin remained the dominating influence in Canaan. Under the Semitic dynasty of Hammurabi (c. 2000 B.C.) the bonds were strengthened; cultural influences, reflected alike in contemporary art and tradition of Canaan, as in the political and social organization, laws and religion of later times, show plainly that Canaan was early impregnated with the leading elements of Babylonian civilization. So firmly did this take root that even the subjection of Babylonia to the foreign Kassite dynasty, which occurred about the same time as the Hyksos domination in Syria and Egypt, produced little visible effect. As with the Hyksos, the Kassite rulers adopted the higher culture of the conquered country.

At an early date Babylonia had been divided into a number of city-states, each with its own local deities, priestly leader and judicial organization, **Political organization.** in which the temple and priesthood played a leading part. But in the age of Hammurabi centralized government was well established, with Babylon as the capital; an organized civil

administration with the elements of a social constitution had replaced the older system of temple rule ; and though priests at one time sat with civil officials on the state tribunals, their number was gradually reduced, and the administration of the oath before the gods became their chief function in the courts of law.

Under Hammurabi the laws were codified : while directly concerned with all kinds of civil questions, incidentally not only do they describe in detail the intricate structure of contemporary society, the development of centuries, but they reveal upon examination a number of social customs prevailing throughout the settled Semitic communities,¹ and traceable even among their nomadic cousins. This code of Hammurabi lays claim to special distinction in that at such an early date its laws were chosen with a view to national rather than particular or local application, and it will therefore be considered in a future chapter, when its precepts will be compared with those derived from other Semitic sources. Though it retains some traces of tribal custom, on the whole it reflects centuries of ordered government and of settled conditions. The king, formerly regarded as a god and still deified after death, represents himself at this stage as the favourite of the gods. With him remained the choice of the chief officers of State, including those of the Treasury and the army ; but the civil courts were the distinguishing feature of the age.

The chief executive power was vested in the mayor or *rabiannu*. It was his duty to collect the

¹ The code is compared with the Mosaic Law below, pp. 191 ff. See also C. J. Gadd, *Babylonian Law*, in the *Ency. Brit.*

king's taxes, which were paid in kind, and to furnish a quota for the militia. Under his presidency sat an assembly of elders and notables to control the courts of law, which adjudicated in any social questions: the efficiency of the judges, the veracity of witnesses, and the punishment of condemned offenders by scourging lay also within its province. Corrupt judges were permanently deprived of their office, and great importance was always attached to the declared intention of any defendant, even in cases of manslaughter. Perjury, after a defendant had taken a solemn oath before the priests, was not even contemplated, and where no other witness in a suit could be found, the oath was considered sufficient to warrant a judgment, due regard being given to all written evidence. The mayor was also ultimately responsible for cases of general interest, such as public security and theft, but in provincial towns sat a lower court, to which he seems to have submitted such matters for at least preliminary trial. Professional advocates were not called in civil actions, but usually one or sometimes two judges heard the plea preferred by the plaintiff himself, called the other witnesses or parties in the suit, and sent them on together with their depositions to a larger tribunal. At Babylon, in addition to the established lower court, sat a high court of judges appointed by the King, which heard cases on appeal. This, in an instance on record, comprised five judges, and the still dissatisfied litigant had a final right of appeal to the King in person, a custom which seems to hark back to the nomadic conditions of the Semite, when summary jurisdiction lay with the tribal sheikh. If the King heard a case and

gave judgment in person, the decision was final and took immediate effect; whereas, in a civil court, until a document had been sealed by the parties, the verdict did not become binding on them. In the Capital the high governor might also refer matters to the high assembly, a Sumerian institution, including a judge, a prefect, and other functionaries, amongst the six to ten persons of whom it was composed; while for special cases, in addition, a provincial governor might be summoned. The King himself, while not interfering with the normal procedure of the courts, watched over the interests of Justice, and sternly opposed such practices as bribery and tampering with witnesses. He was looked to as the protector of his subjects against oppression and injustice. In his name police and masters of the levy were organized throughout the land, and a frequent postal service was maintained for these and other purposes.

The King held the chief command of a standing army, which was derived from fiefs on the older feudal lines, but had as its first duty the protection of the King's person. The early Sumer-

War. ians in battle had advanced in solid phalanx with the King at their head, their weapons being the battle-axe and javelin, with club and sling for use in the ranks. Bowmen had been introduced by the Akkadians. Mercenaries, as in Egypt, were now employed, cavalry and chariotry formed a new and most important addition to the army organization; the spear and axe were retained, but the infantry carried a rectangular shield, a leather head-cover and a short dagger in the girdle, while the higher ranks wore metal helmets.

The age of Hammurabi furnishes the most obvious contacts with the West, and though the artistic and social peculiarities under the ensuing Kassite rule remain obscure, it is clear that this interlude did not affect the spread of the older Babylonian culture, as is well illustrated by the establishment of a daughter civilization in Assyria upon the Tigris.

Architecture in Babylonia was restricted to the use of brick ; wood and stone suitable for building purposes had to be brought to the alluvial valley of the Euphrates from afar, and in **Architecture.** common practice were not used. This limitation to brick in no wise restricted development ; the walls of the cities and temple enclosures were solidly constructed, rose high, and were crowned with battlements and towers.¹ By force of necessity the arch developed early, and was used for spanning doorways, and it may be inferred from the perfected knowledge of the vault in later times that a simple form of barrel-roof would early emerge from experiment, for covering ovens, protecting stores of grain, and other domestic purposes.

In civil architecture, so long as the priestly class ruled, the temple dominated the town. Houses were small, and comprised usually two or three rooms only. There have been found at Eridu early traces of narrow windows and of mural decoration in black and white. The necessity for protecting the house against heavy rains led to an early extension of the older simple methods and the development of an elaborate drainage system.

The Temple occupied at that time the most

¹ See, further, the articles by Sidney Smith on *Babylonian Archaeology*, in the *Ency. Brit.*

favoured position in the city, being solidly constructed within the protection of its own temenos wall, and further surmounted by a great tower or ziggurat, it formed in effect an inner system of defence. Its principal features were the separate sanctuaries of the god and goddess of the city, with perhaps a joint building for the combined cult, and within its precincts might be the shrines of other accepted divinities of the complicated pantheon, in which minor deities derived from earlier animistic conceptions were counted by hundreds. In the same area would be found the residences of the priests, including the district governor and the administrative officials detailed from their number. The great complex of other rooms doubtless represents the accommodation of the numerous temple servants, devotees and pilgrims. The buildings were grouped methodically around a large court, supplemented by smaller courts, each having no doubt its special use or sanctity in the scheme as a whole. The Temple Treasury had to make provision for storing the tithes and taxes, which were mostly paid in kind; so that store-rooms designed for various uses became a feature of the plan, and must have included, near by, stalls and stock yards for the animals "paid in" as well as those offered in sacrifice, specially dry storage for the seed corn which the priests loaned out to the agriculturists without interest, and strong rooms for the safe keeping of "money." The Temple was able to supply free loans for meeting the extra wage lists at such times as harvest, whereas 30 per cent. might be charged for ordinary business loans. In this way, then, the

Temple acted as a bank. A debtor could always pay in produce instead of in "cash."

The palace of the Kings from the time of Hammurabi became a separate feature in Babylonian architecture, and with it doubtless arose a fresh and freer conception of residential houses. In one respect the distinction between ecclesiastical and civil buildings became marked. While the Temple continued to seek heaven and towered towards the skies, the palaces of the great expanded, developing the accommodation required for dignity and public purposes by occupying more ground space, in the lay-out of which the established system of a courtyard enclosed by corridors and chambers remained a central feature.

It is hardly possible to regard the Babylonian religion as a single whole, so complex were its elements, notwithstanding a certain considerable assimilation and a measure of syncretism brought about by time.¹ Nor can its varied cults and the interrelation of its innumerable divinities be understood without an appeal to history.

In its developed form the cosmic powers play the leading part, represented by Anu the god of heaven, Enlil the Earth-god, and Ea the Sea-god. Beside them come a second triad : the Moon-god Sin, leader of the hosts of heaven ; the Sun-god Shamash, and the Earth-mother Ishtar, with whom at a later stage was associated Adad, or Ramman, the Storm- and Sky-god. From the primitive and purely animistic conceptions which, however obscured by the theology of later eras, left an indelible trace

¹ Cf. *inter alia*, Langdon, *Semitic Mythology*, p. 89 ff.

upon the background, each town evolved its patron deity, which emerged to a wider sphere of influence with the rising fortunes of the place itself, so that the local gods of cities which rose to power might attain a status of national importance, and a permanent place in the swelling pantheon. Thus the Moon-cult had its chief sanctuary at Ur, but gradually attained a general recognition. Marduk, in mythology the son of a water-god, and at first one of the many local deities recognized in Babylon, was exalted under Hammurabi to become patron of the Capital. In this development there may be seen a distinct tendency towards henotheism; for absorbing the attributes of numerous other divinities, Marduk became recognized at one and the same time as the god of Strength, of War, of Battle, of Armies, of Royalty, of Property, of Justice, and the disperser of shades. He was further accorded the important attributes of Tammuz, the consort of Astarte, and of Adad the Storm- and Sky-god. In mythology these powers were conferred upon him by the gods concerned at a general assembly, when Marduk undertook on their behalf a single combat with Chaos (Tiamat). Marduk thus attained by popular consent, an uniquely important status, and was worshipped as the supreme god of Babylon. The conception of an all-powerful divinity was thus already prevalent in the Semitic world at the time of the traditional migration of the first Hebrew Patriarch towards Mesopotamia and Palestine.

Similar henotheistic tendencies have been already noticed in Egypt in the case of the gods Amon and Ra; but in Babylonia the process was complicated by frequent changes in the race of rulers, and the

consequent infiltration of fresh gods and new ideas. In the main, however, the original Sumerian and Semitic types prevailed, and as the result of associations lasting through centuries, complete identification was eventually established between various chief deities of these races. Thus the older Sun-god Babbar was worshipped at Sippar and Larsa under the Semitic name Shamash (Shemsh in modern Arabic). The nature goddess Inninne, whose worship in various local guises prevailed throughout all Western Asia, was known by the Semites more widely as Ishtar, whence the western form Astarte, the Biblical Ashtoreth. In this case the Arabic equivalent Athtar was a male.¹ Hadad, who controlled the storms, and was also known as Ramman, the thunderer, was introduced to Babylon by the Amorite rulers of Syria under the name Addu or Adad :² as chief god of the West, he was also named Martu ; and his equivalent in the Hittite areas of Mesopotamia, north Syria and Asia Minor was known universally as Teshub. The western Semitic Ba'al appears in Babylonia undisguised as Bel. These processes of absorption, assimilation and syncretism were continually active, and, if they could be traced in detail, would in all probability be found to reflect political influences and episodes rather than any change in the ethical conceptions of the people or the priesthood.

The ideal of holiness as a way of life was undeveloped. The gods were considered as almost akin to human beings, but gifted with greater powers, and the people lived in close personal

¹ Cf. *Camb. Anct. Hist.*, i, p. 530.

² *Ibid.* pp. 231, 530.

relationship with them. The Temple was their place of meeting, where they dined with the worshippers at sacrificial feasts, or were ceremoniously fed by them with the good things of the earth. These propitiatory acts were not disinterested, and they were supplemented by invocations, prayers and ritual in times of special need. The City-god's help, in particular, was necessary to the inhabitants in their daily life, and nothing would prosper without his favour; but his powers were limited to that sphere. He had no control, for instance, over the destiny of his votaries after death. That realm was controlled by its special god Nergal, who, though the accepted deity of Cuthah, from his inferior position in the pantheon may be thought to have acquired his attributes in a more primitive society. The Hereafter did not offer to the dead, in either Sumerian or Semitic belief, any Happy Hunting Ground, where they might meet the high gods to see them face to face.¹ Man was buried in the earth, where his spirit lived in a ghostly underground town of seven walls, each pierced by a gate, and except that his children and descendants could supply him with food and water, he must wait there in seclusion, unless restored to life by some beneficent and powerful god. If not buried, the dead spirit was doomed to haunt the streets, seeking food in gutters or from lonely wayfarers. The gods in general were not concerned with death: when an offering was made to them it was to obtain their favour for the worshipper in life, and had no effect upon his future state.

¹ R. Campbell Thomson, in *Camb. Anct. Hist.*, i, p. 531. Cf. Numbers xiv, 14.

The power to raise the dead is reflected in some forms of the myth of Ishtar and Tammuz, which seems to be based ultimately upon human experiences of the seasonal phenomena. In the cult of this universal goddess, the onset of winter, and more particularly some unusual manifestation of evil like the premature withering of the crops, would be the occasion of special efforts on the part of her votaries to secure her favour if not actual intervention; and the revival of life with springtime was equally the occasion of joyous celebration, coupled with impassioned rites to ensure a fertile season of the soil and of the flocks that fed upon it. At her shrine on such occasions women dedicated their persons to the common cause, and the temples of the goddess became tenanted by a professional class of women (*zermatishu*) whose service was not counted in dishonour, the proceeds of their calling being devoted to the goddess herself. The attribution of women to the temples, in this as in other cults, was not infrequent, whether as priestesses or "devoted" women. Their different classes provide an interesting study. The "bride of the god" was of the highest caste of the land, and her holy calling is evident from a clause in the code which shows any false accusation against her chastity to have constituted a penal offence. Kings' daughters were devoted in this way, and the story of Jephthah's daughter seems to fall into the same category. In general, however, priestesses might marry, and possessed independent scope and capacity for trade, trafficking both with the outer world and with their cloistered sisters. A *zermatishu* might also own property and fill at the same time

the *role* of priestess, and there was no social objection to marriage with her. A contract of Hammurabi's time describes certain property in Sippar as "near the house of the daughter of Iddin Sin, the *Zermatishu*, near the temple of Eshkharra, facing the town square."

Attached to the larger temples was a school for the training of priests and of experts in medicine, law and surveying. The guild of psalmists was a learned community. Writing based upon an original pictorial system was now long stereotyped in the cuneiform syllabary, in which little wedge-like strokes, the form determined by the "pen" or stylus, were grouped in different combinations, each group representing a syllable or an idea, but no longer reproducing intelligibly even the outline of the original picture-sign. The invention of this system is ascribed to the old Sumerian inhabitants, whose language was "agglutinative" (*e.g.*, like that of the more modern Tartars). From them it was passed on to their Semitic neighbours, the Akkadians, who adapted it to their own speech. Developed and extended under the Amorites, or western Semites, in the Hammurabi dynasty, it became established as the system of writing throughout Mesopotamia, Syria and Canaan: native chieftains wrote not only to their lords but to one another in this way, though not without traces of dialectic differences. Notwithstanding the cumbrous nature of this Babylonian script, a complete literature evolved, including both poetic works, epics, hymns or psalms, and proverbs; even musical notes were represented, the basis being a pentatonic scale. Clay tablets and cylinders

Language
and
writing.

abound, bearing historical chronicles, religious texts, medical receipts, astrological and soothsayers' forecasts, letters and despatches; and about 2000 B.C. the great legal code of Hammurabi was assembled in writing upon a block of granite.

Other branches of knowledge show equal trace of a matured civilization. Arithmetical processes such as the cube and square root were understood;

numbers were counted by tens and sixties
Culture. and higher multiples, a system which has all the advantages of decimals and duodecimals, the higher numerals being divisible by 3 and 4 as well as 5 and 10. In astronomy, apart from astrology and divination, the constellations of stars were usually named after particular divinities, while the planetary movements and the zodiacal boundaries were appreciated, and the calendar showed a proper relation between the lunar and solar years. The tables of celestial phenomena, planetary positions and eclipses, drawn up in later times, argue a very long period of systematic observations astonishing in their accuracy and results.

For commercial purposes weights and measures were established, and written contracts of sale and other private business were drawn up and sealed in accordance with the law. Commercial relations extended far, having been established at an early period with India on the one hand and Egypt on the other. Syria was the chief source of timber, wood from the Lebanon being a regular import; Cilicia and the Tauric region supplied silver, alluvial gold and other valued products; the Zagros, diorite and other stones; while from the Median plateau and possibly from Trans-Jordan came copper ores.

The uses of such materials, more varied and numerous than are mentioned in the records, imply a corresponding social class of busy craftsmen, builders, overseers and artists; while

Daily life. families which followed an hereditary profession or calling are found to have formed themselves into guilds.

In society three main grades are distinguished and were recognized in law. To the first belonged the King and chief officers of state, with whom ranked the leading priests; to the second, the free workman, who was entitled to own slaves and had other civil rights; to the third, the serfs or slaves, between whom the distinction is not clear, though the former were attached to the land and the latter more usually to the household. Prisoners of war might become public slaves.

Women enjoyed a measure of social freedom, and might hold property or engage in business on their own account. Laws relating to marriage and divorce were very definite. A wife could obtain a legal separation for neglect or cruelty, and if a free-woman married a slave, the children were born free; but an unfaithful wife, if not forgiven by her husband, might be drowned or reduced to work in his house as a slave. At marriage a woman was conducted, heavily veiled, to the house of her husband. Some women were accorded sacred rank; many became priestesses, and as such had complete disposal of their property; while, as already seen, numbers were attached to the temples as devotees. Women could own ale-houses for the sale of intoxicants at fixed prices, but only on condition that they allowed no disorderly practices. Beyond this they took no part in public affairs.

Regulations dealt with shipbuilding and boats in harbour, and also controlled all traffic and profit by caravan; but though merchants and craftsmen played their part, agriculture remained the basis of Babylonia's economic life. Field crops included wheat, barley, millet, lentils and sesame, and the gardens produced figs, melons and other fruits, vegetables such as garlic, onions, cucumbers, carrots and beans. Groves of date palms and vineyards complete the picture of a prosperous and organized country. Peasants cultivated small holdings, hired usually from the temples or other great landowners, and sometimes paid for workers in addition to the serfs. At harvest-time there was competition to secure the necessary labour, whether voluntary or paid in kind. On big estates cultivators and herdsmen in practically assured positions were customarily employed by the year.

In Hammurabi's code strict rules are laid down for the ownership, sale and inheritance of land. Irrigation-canals and dykes, and the banks adjoining rivers, were kept in repair by the owners of the property, and laws were drafted to prevent neglect and resultant damage; but the maintenance of the grand canals was considered a public duty of the local governor, who had the assistance of forced labour through a levy of man-power. Serfs mostly supplied the drafts for such purposes, as also for the army quota. Waste land, if taken over for reclamation, would be rent free for the first three years; land upon which a house was to be built would be rent free for eight to ten years, after which the building would become the property of the landlord.

In addition to the ox and ass (the latter used for

riding as well as ploughing), domesticated animals included the horse, cow, buffalo, sheep, goat and dog. The camel had not yet been introduced¹, and with this exception the agricultural and industrial resources of the country are seen to have been much the same then as they are to-day. As in the Near East to-day, a vegetable diet was most general in the country, though banquets and rich repasts were common enough among the more wealthy townsfolk, particularly at festivals or marriages. While water was the standard beverage of the poor, date wine and other alcoholic drinks were known; and a sort of beer was made from fermented barley and sold by the ale-wives. The Palace store-rooms of distant Jericho contained abundance of similar supplies at the time when it was destroyed by fire, at the end of the Hyksos period, and again under the early Pharaohs of the XVIIIth Dynasty.

THE HITTITE EMPIRE.

The name Hittite² comprehends a group of societies geographically and to some extent ethnically distinct (including the Mitannians of Mesopotamia, the Hurrians³ of southern Armenia and northern Syria, the Arzawans of the Cilician coasts, and the Hattians of the Anatolian plateau), which between the twentieth and the fourteenth centuries B.C. became fused as a single polity under the overlordship of the Hattic Kings of Asia Minor⁴, and thereafter for a time wrested from Egypt the sovereignty of

¹ The first reference to the camel in literature appears to be dated in the XIth century B.C. Cf. also below p. 255.

² Cf. Bibl. Hethite.

³ See p. 146.

⁴ We distinguish this Central or Anatolian group of Hittites as Hattians and their territory as Hatti; adj. Hattic.



Central Syria and Canaan. Evidently for cultural influence affecting Palestine we should look most closely at the nearer Hittite states of northern Syria and Mitanni, which were long independent; but their history is largely interlocked with that of Hatti proper, whose archives provide nearly all the information we possess as to their political and social organization. We will therefore take a preliminary glance at this remarkable confederation as a whole.

The Hittite leaders, whose arrival in western Asia falls relatively late, appear like a military aristocracy of Indo-European stock. Asserting their power over the heterogenous racial elements and different societies already established in those areas, and largely impregnated with Babylonian culture, they arrested the social development at a certain stage and guided it visibly along other lines. The feudal system, which in Babylon and Thebes had given way to autocratic or bureaucratic monarchies, remained under these vigorous warrior kings the basis of their political and imperial organization. The Kingdom of Mitanni and the various principalities of northern Syria, when finally annexed to the confederation, were bound to the Great King by formal treaties defining their status and military obligations.

A further constitutional development, surprisingly European in character, among the central states, is visible in the Hittite archives. These,¹ as all know, were recovered in excavation from the palace ruins near Boghaz-Keui, a little village within the circuit of the Halys River, and comprise some thousands

¹ Cf. *The Hittite Empire*, pp. 4. 93.

of cuneiform documents, including copies of treaties with vassal states and foreign powers, many having historical preambles, annals of the Kings, treatises on various subjects, copies of the civil and criminal law, contracts, military regulations, religious and ritualistic texts, some translated into more than one language of the subject states, together with glossaries of unfamiliar words; in fact, the archives of an organized state department. They show that this spot marked the capital of the Great Kings, while disclosing the constitution and the difficulties of their empire. The consolidation of the central states, under the acknowledged kingship of the ruling family, was now almost complete, with a common constitution, system of administration, legal procedure, official language and religious practice. Moreover, the chieftains or princes of the former "city-states" together formed the accepted nucleus of a recognized Assembly (a veritable Witanagemot), which advised the sovereign on internal and administrative affairs. Side by side with the growth of constitutional government remained the elements of feudalism, which determined and supported the position of the King himself. There is seen the European picture of the overlord with his barons and retainers, together with a body of "free men," partly traders or functionaries, and partly agriculturalists, who held their lands or positions from the King, to whom they owed their services; and a similar organization prevailed in the various city centres of the confederated states or tribes, where also coexisted the local or village council.

With his military position assured in this way, the Great King was not merely titular head of the

army, but frequently an active leader of the troops in battle or on campaign. At the same time he was recognized as chief priest of the gods, and on great occasions, such as the eve of war, fulfilled his priestly functions in person. At seasonal festivals he was accompanied by his queen, who by her position, in some cases hereditary, was also priestess of the leading goddess. The Queen had her constitutional rights: she is found in one case to have signed an important treaty on the same footing as the King, and in another to have acted as Regent during the minority of her son. The status of the queen reflects the position of social equality accorded to woman, among the other aspects which differentiate this semi-European society from its Semitic contemporaries, and reflects maybe an early matriarchal system. But that fascinating study does not come within our present purpose. It is not clear to what extent the Semitic states ruled by the Hittites on these lines were affected by these elements of order and organization. The Hittites had arrived upon the scene, like Egypt, as a military power rather than a cultural influence, long after the seeds of Babylonian civilization had taken root. Indeed, upon the plateau of Asia Minor, following up the earlier conquests of Sargon of Akkad, Babylonian traders were already established before the Hittite Kings had asserted their supremacy; and the fact that the Hittites employed the Babylonian script for all state purposes, even among the tribes whose language greatly differed from their own, is permanent evidence even here of the predominating influence.

The Hittite Kings made a study of the art of

kingship and proved themselves astute diplomats; and as leaders of the army the record of their campaigns shows them to have been great generals, with a remarkable appreciation of strategy and tactics. The exploits of King Mursil during a period of revolution in Asia Minor, in which quick movements of his troops and swift flanking blows gave him the victory over divided rebels, read like pages of Napoleonic history.

In war the Hittites employed at this time the horse and chariot as their principal arm, but had also their organized divisions of infantry and cavalry, led by royal princes or local chiefs. In their bigger ventures they called upon the allied states, whose Kings and chieftains led their own contingents. Offensive weapons included the bow and arrow, the battle-axe, spear, and a short curving sword. Shields were carried, and at a certain stage chain armour is found to have been devised for surer protection of the body. Chariots were manned by three men—the driver, the shield bearer, and the warrior himself.

Architecture developed among the Hittites of the plateau along special lines, owing to the plentiful supply of building stone. The defences of the capital consisted of a great stone wall, rising, where not naturally defended by ravines, upon an earthen rampart. The gates were spanned by pointed arches on the cantilever principle, and were double; the gateways were re-entrant and protected by guard-rooms on the flanks. The gate jambs were adorned with appropriate symbolic sculptures.

The great palace was constructed of stone, and conformed in plan with the oriental model of a

central court surrounded by rooms and corridors, the wing opposite to the entrance being apparently the royal residence. This particular building, it should be noticed, is apparently of later date than the archives, but the brick building which underlies it shows on the wings a similar arrangement of store-rooms and galleries, and probably followed out the same general arrangement. Houses of the capital were constructed differently, the foundation and lowest courses alone being made of stone, while the rest was carried up with mud bricks in a timber frame.

In Syria and Mesopotamia brick was chiefly used, but there is difficulty in ascribing any but the chief residences to a purely Hittite influence, for few buildings of this period have yet been excavated. The plan most favoured after the rise of Assyria was the "Hilani," in which a series of broad rooms was approached by an entrance in the middle of the longer side, with a guard-room on either hand. The porticos were commonly decorated with dados of sculptured slabs, in which the themes were usually mythological, and somewhat resemble Assyrian work in style and motives. The carving is done in high relief, but the examples are mostly so worn or weathered that it is difficult to appreciate their quality. The same comment applies to the famous religious sculptures of the imperial age, near the capital.

In this striking series of reliefs the central theme is a divine marriage, a veritable *hieros gamos*, and the central figures are those of the great Teshub, the paramount deity of the Hittite conquerors, and the Earth-Mother, the older deity of the conquered

peoples. The occasion was doubtless a seasonal festival of the goddess. In the train of Teshub are assembled the local deities of that type and name¹ from various confederated states, attended in some cases by their kingly priests, and the goddess is similarly supported by local versions of her type. Her Hittite name is not known, and unlike that of Teshub, it seems to have varied in different areas, being apparently "Khepa" in Mitanni; but she is named Astarte in the Egyptian treaty. The most arresting detail of the scene is the association with the goddess of her youthful consort, showing the pair to represent, in effect, the same cult as the Babylonian Ishtar and Tammuz, the Syrian Astarte and Tammuz, later known in the West as Venus and Adonis, and in Asia Minor among its Phrygian inhabitants as Cybele and Attis.

The name of the youthful deity has been recognized in Hittite as Telepinush, and the prevalence of a similar myth to those associated elsewhere with this pair is attested by a written text. This tells of the disappearance of the offended god of vegetation, Telepinush², with consequent bad crops, sterility, and famine, and of his reappearance, with the prospect of renewed fruitfulness. The identity of this aboriginal cult is thus not in doubt. But the ceremonial marriage of the mother-goddess with the lord of the skies was apparently an inspiration of the Anatolian plateau: it reflects the political

¹ The name is written ideographically, and it may have varied in pronunciation with localities. Treaty Lists confirm the prevalence of the cult in all Hittite lands including Mitanni, in Mesopotamia, N. Syria and Asia Minor.

² Cf. Hrozný, *Hittite Mythology*, in *Ency. Brit.* xi, p. 607.

history of the area, and formed the basis for the subsequent conception of a divine family which characterizes Greek and Nordic mythology. The dual cult thus established lived on, and centuries later is found to be the central feature of worship at *Hierapolis* of Syria. The worship of Teshub also survived undisguised, though changed in name, at Doliche in northern Syria, until the Christian Era, whence the cult was carried by local recruits to the German *Limes* and the Roman Wall in Britain, where it attained great popularity.

Teshub in the Hittite scheme, like Marduk of Babylon, gradually assumed all the higher attributes of power and virtue. But in this cult the henotheistic tendency of the age, illustrated in that of Marduk, was surpassed, and seems like a herald to monotheism itself. For Marduk remained ever a local deity, and was not accepted by other cities as a common god. But Teshub became lord of the sky, and the national deity of the Hittite peoples, whose city-guardians were local manifestations of him, differing little in essential character.¹ In this case the sense of an all-powerful God had come to prevail, and with it came that unity of purpose, extending even to tribes of different race, which lay behind the success of the Hittite armies and the notable progress of their social organization and ethical conceptions.

The most powerful divinity of the land, and leader of the pantheon, was the Sun-goddess, whose shrine was at Arinna. She occupied a place apart, alike

¹ Attributes of Teshub derived from the Hittite texts include: Lord of the Sky, Lord of Hatti, Lord of Trade, Lord of the Camp, Lord of Mounds, i.e., of City sites; also The Powerful: cf. *Hittite Empire*, p. 113.

in worship as in her ethical attributes. She had no local representatives, but reigned in her sphere individually and supreme. Kings were her priests, and princesses ministered at her shrine. She guarded the sanctity of oaths and treaties, protected the poor and helped the great. Under the Hittite warrior kings she became the goddess of war. As in Homeric mythology, her relations with them were personal. King Mursil, on the eve of battle, made a pilgrimage to her shrine and "took her by the hand" to invoke her blessing; she inclined her head, and, if the record is correctly understood, is said to have come down to him from her throne. From the established position which she held it would appear that she was a territorial divinity whom the Hittite conquerors had learnt to revere. Whether she was originally the nature goddess whose worship was so general is not clear, but it is evident from the legend "ruler of all the lands," inscribed around her effigy upon the seal of the Egyptian treaty, that she had at least absorbed the attributes of the Earth-mother. Moreover, the association with Teshub, who was represented on the obverse of the seal, suggests the final assimilation and fusion of the cults. In this case, again, the paramount status of the goddess, like that of Teshub, amid the thousand gods of the Hittite world, most of whom were little more than genii or animistic spirits, transcends the local henotheistic conceptions of Thebes and Babylon.

The advanced nature of these two cults reflects a high standard of social equity embodied in the laws, in which the status of woman, the protection of the lower classes, a growing appreciation of justice and mercy, and the punishment of wrongdoers, are

leading features. The Hittite Code is not preserved in its entirety, and is concerned for the most part with details of public order and security.

In general the Laws, like various other elements in the Hittite organization, may be regarded as derived from Babylonia. In the penal clauses, however the penalties are much lighter than those of the Semites, and there is frequent reference to revision in this respect. Theft was punishable by fine: for the theft of an ox the penalty was fifteen oxen or their equivalent. The death sentence was applicable only to eight crimes; mutilation only to theft or arson on the part of slaves, whose faces were marked, and forced labour only to cases of misappropriation. In particular the desert laws of personal retribution (the *lex talionis*), "eye for eye and tooth for tooth," which was legalized in Babylonia, finds no place in the Hittite scheme, and personal revenge was tolerated only in cases of adultery.

The commercial clauses that are preserved deal largely with the organization of agriculture. They include tariffs for the wages of workmen, the hire of animals and implements, and a detailed schedule of retail prices for the sale of animals, skins, clothing, and the like. Silver pieces, weighed on the Babylonian system, were the medium of exchange. The person of a debtor or his substitute might be estreated as security for a debt.

The civil code recognizes only two classes, the free-man and the slave. Marriages between free persons were preceded by an exchange of presents: the woman might be freed from her engagement by returning the dowry, but if the man changed his

mind he bore the loss. Two classes of marriage were recognized: in the one the woman went to live in her husband's house, in the other she remained with her father. A free woman who accepted the marriage gift of a slave accepted his status; otherwise slaves did not exchange marriage presents. A deceased wife's movable possessions reverted to her kinsfolk, immovable property being assigned to the husband. The marriage of a brother with his deceased brother's wife (the Levirate marriage) was a statutory obligation, one of the few of these social details which show contact with Semitic custom.

The laws of succession have not yet been traced. Property was secured to the individual by a system of temple registration, doubtless reflecting an age when the priesthood granted fiefs. Even so, the temples held possessions and endowments, and schedules of such properties were drawn up and registered. The King was able to grant lands, as maintenance, for loyal service, but it is not known whether the rights so acquired terminated at death, as was the case in Egypt. Soldiers were drawn from the free classes, and, if agriculturalists, they were replaced during their term of service by civilians, who continued to pay the dues. If the soldier died, the civilian might take his place; if the civilian died, the soldier appointed his own representative, usually on a share-and-share arrangement.

The numerous regulations devoted to agricultural organization show that it formed the basis of the economic position. Wheat and barley were grown, the vine was cultivated, wine being made as well as barley beer, as with the Babylonians. Bees were

kept and so were domestic animals, but the chief industry was the raising of cattle and horse breeding. From other sources it is clear that the silver and copper mines were worked, and a certain number of examples of craftsmanship have been found ; but the archæological exploration of the land is still in its infancy. There seems, however, no doubt that in such matters the Hittite peoples were pupils of the Babylonians.

As might be expected from the difference of climatic conditions, the clothing of the Anatolian Hittites differed from that of the Semite, so that, though interesting and peculiar in its details, it hardly affects our subject, especially as it seems to have been modified in the warmer lands to the south of Taurus. In other more vital aspects, however, various distinctive elements in the Hittite civilization seem to have prevailed throughout the Mitannian and Syrian dependencies, notwithstanding the undoubted racial and dialectic differences among the peoples of those areas and also between them and the population of Asia Minor. Sinjerli in the north of Syria and Carchemish upon the Euphrates, as well as other cities which have not been so fully explored, show the definite impress of Hittite methods, both in their fortifications, and their buildings with sculptured dados, extending to the mythological details of the last-named feature. The same may be said, though with less emphasis, about the Mitannian area. A common hieroglyphic system, used in Asia Minor on formal sculptures,¹ permeated all these lands,

¹ The Hittite hieroglyphics are at last giving up their secrets, thanks to the labours of Dr. Bedřech Hrozný, to whom fell also the honour of deciphering the Hittite cuneiform texts. See his treatise : *Les Inscriptions Hittites Hieroglyphiques*, Prague, 1933.

and continued to develop at Carchemish after the fall of the old capital upon the plateau. Examples are found southwards at Hamath upon the Orontes, while uninscribed Hittite monuments may be traced as far as Palestine. The treaty relations of the Hittite Kings in the early fourteenth century extended over all this territory, and the deities invoked show that Mitanni and northern Syria shared the religion no less than the political fortunes of the ruling caste.

Early in the second millennium the Hittite Kings had already captured Aleppo and raided Babylon, and though the record of their exploits during the Hyksos period in Syria is not clear, there is a strong suggestion, in the legends associated with the King Telebinus, that about the same time they extended their influence at any rate to Damascus.

Late Biblical passages¹ maintain that Hittite colonists had established themselves in Palestine before the Patriarchs. While this tradition remains unconfirmed, there remains no doubt as to their penetration of Palestine, early in the fourteenth century B.C., about the same time that the Israelites were invading the country from the East. Their own archives trace the victorious march of Subbiluliuma with the help and connivance of his Amorite allies, as far as the outskirts of Damascus. Among the Hittite soldiers were Ḫabiru (Hebrews), recruited doubtless from Mesopotamia; some of them formed the bodyguard of the Hittite Kings in their highland palace, and their name occurs frequently in the Hittite records in the same contexts as those of other confederates and allies. The Amarna Letters, which overlap this period, carry on the story of this

¹ Genesis xxiii, 3, 10, etc. P.; xxvi, 34 P.

southern advance, in which the Ḫabiru were the chief source of danger and disorder. Tangible remains confirm the narrative. Hittite arms and emblems have been found at the foot of the altar of the goddess at Beisan, in the strata of this period ; the remodelled gateways of Shechem, small objects found at Megiddo and as far as Gerar, the most southern position on the maritime plain, show traces of the same invasion. And though the Pharaohs who succeeded Akhenaton on the throne of Egypt made occasional efforts to regain their lost prestige and territory in Syria, the Hittite pressure was maintained for quite a hundred years. It may therefore be regarded as certain that at some early period, following possibly the fall of Aleppo, and again early in the fourteenth century B.C., Hittite armies penetrated into Palestine and established themselves on both these occasions sufficiently to leave a durable impress on both sides of Jordan.

Let us be quite clear about the precise relation of these incursions to our enquiry. Hittite settlers had already established themselves in Palestine before the Amarna period ; indeed, according to Biblical tradition, as early as the Patriarchal age ; but the historic inroad under the Ḫattic King Subbiluliuma early in the fourteenth century B.C., reflected in the Amarna Letters, would not affect the situation in Canaan previous to the coming of the Israelites, with which, however, it may have been in part contemporary. For more than a century preceding this invasion the Hittite influence prevailing in Canaan would, moreover, be that of Mitanni, the Hittite state which, after the breakdown of the Hyksos domination,

replaced in northern Syria and in north-west Mesopotamia the dismembered Kingdom of Hani-galbat. Even the great Pharaohs of the fifteenth century B.C. entered into marriage relations with the ruling family of Mitanni, relations which endured for several generations, and must have greatly affected social ideas on both sides. Among the Mitannians, in particular, the worship of Teshub was general, and in view of the marked tendency of the age towards henotheism, to which Egypt itself was leaning (albeit, perhaps, unconsciously), this growing idea cannot have failed to leave its impress on contemporary thought.

In the foregoing analysis of the cultural and social elements in the environment of Palestine at the time when its own history begins, though the nature of existing evidence does not provide a basis for a complete comparison, there do emerge several instructive points of agreement and of difference which will illuminate the next stage of our enquiry. While it is not possible to frame any general conclusion, it may be noticed that in some respects cultural contacts tend to have followed in the wake of political control. Thus in the simple case of ceramic art (described in the next chapter), the early domination of Babylon, the subsequent ascendancy of Syria in the Hyksos period, and the final annexation of the land by Egypt, were accompanied by successive corresponding changes in the Canaanitish pottery types, distinguished in archæology as the Middle Bronze Age (i and ii) and the Late Bronze Age (i) Cultures.¹

But the conclusion cannot be generalized. It is

¹ See the Illustration later in this volume (to f. p. 390).

clear that military or political ascendancy would tend to close the doors of cultural contact in all directions other than that of the dominating power. Moreover, in some respects more closely affecting social practices, the diffusion of civilization seems to have moved independently of arms or politics. The spread and general acceptance of the Nature cult in the personified form of a Goddess of Production, provides a remarkable illustration ; it is made more vivid at the time under review by the common tendency, even among peoples of different race, to associate with their Earth-mother a Father-god of independent attributes, and to exalt one or other of these deities, or the pair as a dual cult, to a supreme position in their respective pantheons. This movement towards henotheism was so widespread that it is difficult to locate its focus, though it may be looked for in the Mesopotamian area.

Equally instructive is the matter of writing. The Babylonian cuneiform system is found to have been adopted universally, so that the Egyptian and Hittite Kings exchanged their diplomatic and personal letters, or wrote to their Syrian vassals and from them received replies, all written in this way. This fact is pregnant with significance : it shows clearly that the earliest cultural influence in Western Asia was that of Babylonia, and that it had been so long implanted that it had taken root, resisting deracination, notwithstanding that the Egyptians and the Hittites who successively dominated the area had each their independent language and hieroglyphic script. The Canaanites also had their separate language, which may be called proto-Hebrew, and though they are seen to have exchanged letters with

one another in the Babylonian script, they evidently found this difficult and ill-adapted to reproduce their tongue. Their correspondence must have involved the maintenance of trained scribes at each official centre. Out of these difficulties, and as a product of their environment, the Canaanites emerged with a great invention. Experimenting on the one hand with a selected series of Egyptian hieroglyphs, and on the other with a similarly chosen set of Babylonian signs, they succeeded in devising an alphabetical system.

The details of this discovery belong to our next chapter. It provides us meanwhile with a concluding indication as to the complex nature of the social and cultural structure of the Canaanite civilization, which we now turn to examine in greater detail. We shall see, within the limits of our materials, how in other respects the people adapted to their conditions of life the various social influences absorbed from their environment, and eventually passed them on, modified and filtered, to the new people whose destiny it was temporarily to achieve unity, under a single polity and a single God.

CHAPTER IV.

CANAAN BEFORE ISRAEL.

1475-1375 B.C.

Political Organization ; War ; Architecture ; Religious Beliefs and Practices ; Burial Customs ; Daily Life ; Language and Writing.

With the fall of Megiddo about 1479 B.C. Canaan became definitely absorbed into the Egyptian Empire, so that the rising curtain of history discloses a changing order and a fading native civilization. Thereafter for more than half a century the country was crossed and re-crossed by the Pharaoh's armies, and was itself frequently in turmoil: it is from the Egyptian record of these events, under Thutmose III and his successors, that we get our first glimpse of its social structure. During the next half century, which covers the long reign of the contented Pharaoh Amenhetep III, except for the local disturbance caused by the first efforts of the Israelites to gain a footing on the highlands, the land had respite until thrown into disorder by the H̄abiru revolution. No army of the Pharaoh, a chieftain then complained, had visited Canaan for fifty years, and the picture of sudden disturbances for which the country was ill-prepared is reflected alike in the Amarna Letters as in the Biblical narrative of the Israelite invasion.

Though the Egyptian organization broke down so completely at this time and left little permanent impression upon the social structure of the country, its outline is fairly clear. It aimed at maintaining order, particularly along the imperial highroads, and at exacting tribute, through the agency of a relatively small number of resident officials. The Pharaoh's chief representative and mouthpiece made Gaza his headquarters, having under his authority two groups of officials dispersed throughout the chief centres, of whom the *Rabiṣu*, or Inspectors, were concerned chiefly with the collection of the tithes and taxes; while the *Hazannuti*, or local prefects, seem to have controlled local garrisons stationed in selected cities. Apart from this administrative skeleton, when once the supremacy of Egypt had been established, details of administration were generally entrusted to local chieftains, whether the hereditary princes or others whom the Pharaoh had appointed to fill that position. These chieftains continued to be responsible for their own armed forces, though presumably these were controlled and limited in numbers, as they were held at the service of the Pharaoh, being raised on the old feudal basis. This was a peace-time arrangement. So long as the taxes were paid and no serious disorder occurred, the chieftains for the most part enjoyed their ancient liberties and even prospered, though the country as a whole became impoverished by the heavy toll exacted by the conquerors on every pretext. In addition, the prevailing system of despotic government, in which much depended upon the favour of a court official, demanded as a matter of expediency, albeit in the name of loyalty, frequent

presents to the Pharaoh or his passing representatives. To judge by the pictures and descriptions of such of these gifts as reached the court at Thebes, where they were freely counted among the spoils or tribute, they included precious and imported objects, exceeding in value that which the chieftains could well supply from their own households, and must have constituted a further drain upon the resources of the country.

The standing army was usually not large ; a force of fifteen soldiers seems to have been regarded in most places as a sufficient garrison, so that the burden of their actual maintenance was light ; but it was also the duty of the chieftains to make provision for the passing of the Pharaoh's armies and expeditionary troops. The toll in such cases must have been heavy, and it was doubtless felt all the more because the imperial highroads passed through the richest parts of the country, and there could be little restraint upon the depredations of the soldiers in what was to them after all a foreign and conquered territory. These imperial troops, moreover, tended to include an increasing proportion of negroes and Asianic mercenaries, so that the occupation of Palestine or Canaan implanted in the soil little trace of Egyptian art and culture, except the personal properties of officials and the remains of a few temples erected here and there in ceremonial respect to the Pharaoh or his gods.

Behind these intrusive Egyptian elements, of which the Biblical narrative in fact retains little trace, the picture of Canaan at this time revealed by the several sources of information is harmonious though rather vague. It shows a land of broad plains and

broken hills, in which, though running streams were rare, the olive, the vine, and fig tree flourished, the corn harvests were reasonably abundant, while the herds and flocks were counted in high numbers. On mounds by the side of springs or wells rose walled cities, encircled by protective ramparts, each dominated usually by a defensive tower or migdol, and each under peace conditions claiming its own territory and a measure of independence. The whole land was parcelled out in this way among a number of city-states, the area of each domain being determined by the prosperity and power of its neighbours. More than a hundred places are mentioned in both the Biblical and Egyptian records, and about half that number can be placed upon the map, being thickly grouped upon the plains and fertile areas, but sparse and scattered elsewhere. Obviously the cities nearest the highroads, which mostly followed the plains and easy passes, would claim a readier mention in the Pharaoh's records. None the less, the distribution suggested probably reflects the state of affairs at the time, for exploration of the central highlands has not located more than a dozen such strongholds of the Bronze Age, while in the plateau of Galilee only three are known as yet.

The name-lists of Thutmose III are hard to follow and are incomplete; but comparing them with the Amarna Letters, we may recognize 24 leading cities of Canaan, the sites of which are known, and this number can be safely supplemented from Biblical records. Of the 111 place-names mentioned in the early sources of the Books of Joshua and Judges, 58 can be identified with some certainty; all the sites have been examined personally by the writer,

and a dozen or more have actually been excavated. Eliminating those Biblical names which are mentioned late in the Book of Judges and prove to refer to Iron Age sites, and adding from the Pentateuch three or four which are independently substantiated, we obtain a reliable list of the most important cities and townships of this period, the position of which adequately indicates the distribution of power and population. A map faces p. 15.

In the following combined schedule, names enclosed within brackets do not appear in the Biblical records, while those shown in *italics* cannot be recognized with certainty in the Egyptian sources :—

Coastal Plains and Border Hills: Aijalon, *Ashdod*, Askalon, *Azekah*, *Beth-Shemesh*, *Debir*, Eglon, Gath, Gaza, Gerar, Gezer, *Yarmuth*, Lachish, Libnah, Makkedah, (Ono, Lud).

Coastal Plain N. : Dor, (Yehem).

Esdraelon and its Borders: Arad, Ibleam, *Jokneam*, Megiddo, Nahalol, Ta'anak.

Plain of Acre: Acco, Achshaph, *Achzib*, *Haro-sheth*, *Mishrephoth-Maim*, Rehob.

Galilee: Beth-Anath, *Beth Shemesh*, otherwise Kedesh, Madon [LXX. Maron], (Hethy), Hanathon (Hinnatuni).

Jordan Valley, Upper: *Abl*, Hazor, Laish, (Kinnereth; Yenoam). Lower: Bethshan, (Rehob, Hamath), *Adam*, *Jericho*.

Central Plateau, N: Shechem, *Shiloh*, Dothan. S.: *Ai*, *Beeroth*, *Bethel*, *Bethhoron*, *Gibeon*, *Hebron* [Egn. Rabute], Jerusalem, (Kilti), *Kiriath Jearim*.

The concentration of these names in the coastal plain towards the south and on the plateau in the

vicinity of Jerusalem throws into relief the comparative poverty of the north end of the plain of Sharon and the plateau around Shechem, and may suggest at first glance the existence of two powerful southern alliances of city-states united amongst themselves for the common weal. Yet the one reference in the Amarna Letters¹ to any such mutual support shows that it was the distant chariotry centres of Acco and Achshaph, from the plain of Acre, that sent help to a beleaguered city of the south called Kilti, generally identified with Keilah upon the foothills overlooking Lachish. The grouping and distribution of names and sites is in fact largely due to the physical conditions and environment, already considered in Chapter II. The plain of Sharon, for example, was for the most part uninhabited; the little port of Dor (later Dora) upon its coast seems to have played no part in the affairs of the interior, from which it was cut off by large areas of swamp and undergrowth. Places like Yehem, and some others of more doubtful identity mentioned in the Egyptian records, stood on the higher ground at the foot of the hills, where also ran the Egyptian highroad towards the north.

The isolation of Shechem, though tempting its chieftain to carry his raids and adventures relatively far afield, does not place it at the centre of a kingdom or visible alliance, for no other walled cities are found in the vicinity. Dothan, its nearest great neighbour, lay to the north in a detached plain, where it probably shared rather the fortunes of Esdraelon. Shiloh in the south may indeed have come within its sphere of influence, but the early

¹ Louvre Mus., Tab. A.O., 7096.

history of this Biblical site is still obscure though it shows traces of fortification. The rarity of other Bronze Age traces on the plateau around Shechem, coupled with the recorded experience of the tribesmen of Manasseh at the outset of their settlement,¹ justify the conclusion that this part of the central highlands was still largely given over to primeval forest. Its inhabitants can only have been few, with residences of a temporary character or unwalled villages, which have mostly escaped the eye of the explorer.

A number of the walled cities which appear in our list are indeed described in the Book of Joshua as the centres of dependent towns,² and a similar suggestion appears in the Amarna Letters; but these dependencies are rarely named. Doubtless the small communities that dwelt in them looked to the walled cities in peacetime as their market and social centre, and in wartime as their refuge. But this element of co-ordination was not general. So far as the Egyptian records throw light upon the internal organization of the country at this time, the city-states appear to have been largely independent of one another; yet it is true that when the Pharaoh with his trained and disciplined troops had reduced all to a common servitude, some semblance of unification and co-ordination was established, and this is reflected in the Biblical account of the league headed by Jerusalem against the Hivite-Israelite alliance.³

In this respect the incompleteness of the earlier

¹ Joshua xvii, 11-18, J.

² Joshua xv, 32, 36, f. P.

³ Joshua x, 3, 5, J.

Egyptian annals is probably misleading, and the Pharaoh may really have encountered combinations which it was his policy to break up; for Biblical tradition actually refers to the old-time dominance of Hazor,¹ and we have recognized the geographical possibilities of a Canaanite organization embracing the cities of Esdraelon and even extending southward down the coastal plain and the Jordan valley. Probably the great day of Hazor and the Canaanite expansion belongs to the Hyksos period, though a late element in the tradition incorporated in the Book of Joshua² suggests that it was still almost at its zenith when the Israelites invaded the country from the east. In this context, however, there is some confusion: the great cities of Esdraelon, which formed a natural frontier to the dominion of Hazor, were still too strong for the Israelites to reduce, but Joshua was able by a surprise attack to gain a tactical victory over the allies whom the King of Hazor had summoned to his aid. These, according to the earlier sources,³ were drawn from Achshaph on the coast of Acre, Shimron on the eastern side of Lake Huleh, and from Maron (or Madon) on the plateau of Upper Galilee. The later additions to the account include all the cities of Esdraelon and the south, a combination tactically unsound, but reflecting the former power of Hazor to draw on these resources. Certainly during the Habiru movement which shortly followed, the King of Hazor makes no visible effort to take concerted action even with his northern allies, unless it were

¹ Joshuaⁱ xi, 10, D.

² Joshua xi, 2, 3, D.

³ Joshua xi, 1, 8, J.

with Sidon. His powers had evidently weakened, and in one of his letters to the Pharaoh he refers distressfully to the trouble that had fallen on his City;¹ and little more than the power of its name, or at most the shadow of its dominion, seems to have survived in the age of Sisera (about 1200 B.C.).²

Another effort at union may be seen, though more obscurely as yet, in the Trans-Jordanian kingdoms of the two Amorite rulers Og and Sihon, the one in Bashan, in the Yarmuk basin, and the other further southwards between the Jabbok and the Arnon, where they opposed an organized barrier to the northward progress of the Israelites.³ In this position the Amorites would control the fords of the Jordan; and it is interesting to realize that not only may they have held possession of Jericho, to which the Canaanite lays no claim in tradition, but that they may have spread by that channel over various areas in the southern plateau. Bashan bears trace also of Hittite occupation,⁴ and it is tempting to look back a little further to the age of Telebinus, who ruled over Damascus in the Hyksos period, and to conclude that the strength of the Amorite position was the outcome of a former Hittite-Amorite combination which had penetrated Palestine from Trans-Jordan and left its traces in the population of Jerusalem and other cities of the south.

Such co-operation as we have found among the city-states did not extend to the south-east, as the experiences of the invading Israelites disclose. No

¹ Kn. *Amarna Letters*, No. 228.

² Judges iv, 2, E; 24, E.

³ Numbers xxi, 33, D.; Deut. iii, 1, 8; xxix, 7; Joshua xxiv, 12, E.; Judges xi, 22, E.

⁴ *Hittite Empire*, p. 327.

hand of a petty king, not even the strong arm of the Pharaoh, was stretched out to help Jericho when besieged by Joshua, though the menace must have been visible for weeks or months before the crossing of the Jordan. Similarly, the city of Ai, upon the brink of the plateau, remained without succour, even at the second attack, unless it were some tardy help from the inhabitants of its neighbour Bethel.¹

Upon the plateau, however, there is found the unique picture of a local group in the four 'Hivite' cities, the chief of which was Gibeon.² Racial difference apparently separated these from Jerusalem and all their other neighbours, and there transpires one point of peculiar interest, in that the political organization of this tetrapolis was seemingly democratic. No "king" is mentioned; it was a council of elders that decided to make overtures for an alliance with Israel.

The only league raised actually to resist the Israelites' penetration was summoned by the King of Jerusalem, and was drawn from independent cities, like Hebron and distant Lachish upon the border of the plain.³ It represented, not the local power of Jerusalem's King, but the latent organization of Egypt, in the upholding of which he had seemingly a special responsibility. After the allies had been routed and the pursuit had followed down to the maritime plain, it is noteworthy that the early sources in the Biblical narrative⁴ make no

¹ Joshua, viii, 17, J.

² Joshua ix, 3 f. E. J. On the reading Horite for Hivite, see p. 27.

³ Joshua x, 3, J.

⁴ Joshua x, 10, J.

allusion to any intervention on the part of Bethhoron, nor even of Gezer, though the battle must have rolled past their very gates. Evidently Jerusalem's wars were not their wars, even though the Pharaoh's dominion was at stake.

Later tradition, it is true, maintains that the King of Gezer sent help to Lachish¹; but a comparison of the relevant passages in the Book of Joshua with the parallel Amarna Letters suggests strongly that these additions to the older text were drawn from the records of the H̱abiru invasion, which followed closely upon that of the Israelites, and so became confused with it, as is frequently the case today. For this there was some reason; for both groups were Hebrews, and both challenged the Egyptian domination of the country. Indeed, it is highly probable that they more than once joined forces, possibly as early as the assault on Hazor.

To sum up these considerations: the earlier annals of the Pharaohs show no trace of combined resistance between the city-states, beyond the great alliance defeated by Thutmose III at Megiddo, where the co-ordinating power came from Kadesh on the Orontes. The oldest narrative of the campaigns of Joshua tells of three combinations²: one, that of the Hivites, was political and evidently racial in origin; the second, that of Jerusalem and the south, reflects the Egyptian organization; the third alone, that of Hazor, looks like a spontaneous revival of an old alliance. Lastly, the Amarna Letters, while disclosing some sign of mutual co-operation, yet record that the cities were taken or suborned one by one,

¹ Joshua x, 33, D.(?).

² Joshua ix, 3, ff. E, J.; x, 3, ff. J.; xi, 1, J.

though help was occasionally forthcoming under special circumstances.

We reach again the conclusion already outlined, that Palestine in the fifteenth century B.C. had as a whole no political unity. From the time when Thutmose III had destroyed the coalition assembled at Megiddo, successive Pharaohs had clearly aimed at replacing any latent bonds of alliance by direct allegiance to their throne and person. However baneful in its effect upon the country, even fatal in the issue, this policy had been pressed home relentlessly, and from the Egyptian standpoint, seemed successful. The chieftains of all the greater cities held their rank and maintained their rights, as vassals of their royal master, at the price of servitude and tribute. To the Pharaoh at Amarna they addressed letters personally and individually, sometimes over the head of his resident officials; they show a sense of fear and jealousy, and freely display a naïve instinct to seek favour at the expense of others. Nearly all the great cities are represented in these letters, including Tyre, Acco, Hazor, Megiddo, Shechem, Jerusalem, Gezer, Joppa, Lachish, Askalon and Gaza, and it is to be remembered that only a fraction of the whole correspondence has been preserved. It is significant that, notwithstanding the supine attitude of the Pharaohs at the time, not one of these strong places could be occupied by the Israelites when they first attempted to make good their footing in the land. The settling of Joshua late in life at Shechem seems to have been effected by arrangement rather than by force of arms.¹

¹ Joshua xxiv, 1, E. Cf. *Amarna Letters*, Kn., No. 289.

The ultimate effect of the Pharaoh's policy was clearly to leave the country without organized protection should Egyptian help or prestige fail, and this is what eventually happened.

War.

At the time of which we write, however, the ruthless methods by which the policy was enforced, in addition to bringing about a change in the social balance, and disaster upon many of the inhabitants, were slowly uprooting the very foundations of existence. Punishment and tribute exacted at each successive expedition for more than half a century comprised; according to the Pharaoh's records,¹ great numbers of animals, including horses and mares, bulls, sheep, and goats, vast quantities of grain, sometimes whole harvests, stores of honey, wine, oil, wood, and dishes of precious metals, in addition to prisoners and slaves, both male and female. If the spoliation was in fact anything like that depicted in the records, the triumphs of the Pharaoh's armies meant in effect the ruin of the country. It is perhaps significant that the city of Jericho at this age was only half the size it had been during the Hyksos period.

The population of the country in any case could not have been large. The cities themselves were small, from six to ten acres in extent. Jerusalem extended over some eleven acres, Megiddo and Shechem rather more; while areas of fifteen acres, as at Gezer, and sixteen at Hazor, were quite exceptional. It is true that villages are said to have existed, but the walled cities were designed presumably as a refuge for all. Allowing an outside

¹ Br., *Anc. Rec. Eg.* II, 406 f., 541 f.

coefficient of 250 people per acre, with an equally outside estimate of 100 cities averaging 10 acres each, we find that the total population cannot well have exceeded 250,000 souls. This figure, though it can claim no accuracy, possibly represents the real state of affairs, as it satisfies all the contemporary indications; so that cities with three thousand inhabitants would be larger than the average, and their fighting strength might number at the most four to five hundred men.¹ The true numbers of Joshua's forces are reflected in the account of the initial attack on Ai,² where the number of the fallen in that serious reverse is put at 36. Loyal vassals appeal to the Pharaoh for 15 or occasionally 30 trained soldiers to protect their towns; one states that unless 50 men should be forthcoming the empire would go to ruin.³ The inhabitants were not war-loving; long experience had taught them to prefer the protection of their stone walls, and the presence of a few Egyptian soldiers was sufficient to prevent disturbance. It is much the same today. When racial riots broke out in Jerusalem a few years ago, and threatened to become a civil war, the arrival of fifteen British soldiers by aeroplane led to a speedy restoration of order. The Imperial army of the earlier Pharaohs could barely have exceeded 5,000 men, and for most expeditionary purposes a few hundred would suffice.

¹ There is no means of estimating the numbers closely, but the proportion of warriors to population among certain Bedouin tribes of the Wadi Mûsa, from statistics kindly supplied by Dr. Canaan, was almost exactly 10 per cent. in 1929, a year, however, when the figure was low for special reasons.

² Joshua vii, 5, J.

³ *Amarna Letters*, Kn. 151, ll. 15-16.

There are few reliable pictures to illustrate the arms and methods of war employed by the Canaanites in battle, since the Pharaoh's monuments invariably

Weapons. depict his enemies as captives, or in flight, or besieged and helpless within

their fortified enclosures. The chariot was the chief offensive arm of the Canaanites, who had doubtless introduced it, and learnt to use the horse, during the Hyksos period. No actual Canaanite chariot has been found, and in the representations, as among the spoils of Megiddo, it cannot be distinguished from that of their northern allies. It was seemingly narrower than that of the Egyptians, and could be dismantled for mountain journeys.¹ It is hardly probable, however, that its use was common in the central plateau,² where even in later times personal prowess claimed the day. Body armour was worn at Megiddo, and fragments of scale-mail have actually been found farther south. Offensive weapons included the bow and arrow, the latter tipped with bronze or flint, a short dagger with slender midrib, and a curving knife. The sword may be included more doubtfully among the native weapons. A lance-head of flint is mentioned among the spoils of Retenu, and though in this case of ceremonial purpose, the use of a lance or spear is confirmed by the unearthed remains. A heavy club of hard wood, familiar today in the country, has presumably been long in use. Rough club-heads of stone are also found; but the polished mace-

¹ The Canaanites assembled under the King of Hazor at Maron, or Merom [Joshua xi, 5, J., and LXX], which according to Josephus was in the hills. Cf. *Joshua: Judges*, p. 196.

² The first use of chariots near Jerusalem is probably to be ascribed to the Philistines; cf. below, p. 238, 339.

heads were apparently reserved for ceremonial purposes. "Ballista"-stones have been found in several cities, but it is not clear that they were used by the defenders, to whom ordinary stones would serve even better for resisting an attack upon their walls. In general, the offensive weapons of the native population appear to have been less developed than their system of defence, and distinctly inferior to those used by the Egyptian soldiers and their mercenary allies.

The outstanding feature of Canaanitish defensive work is seen in the stone ramparts which protected their great cities. A number of these have been excavated and portions at least of the actual walls of the period have been exposed to view.¹ They include Gezer, Beth-Shemesh and Kiriath Sepher, upon the coastal plain; Jerusalem, Beeroth, Ai, Shechem upon the plateau; Jericho in the Jordan valley, and Hazor in the Huleh basin. The style of masonry is distinctive: rough-hewn stones, of as great weight as the resources of the locality and the height of the work permitted, were set in irregular courses, the interstices packed with small stones of convenient shape and size, and the whole bonded with mud-mortar. The wall was thick—at Gezer as much as 16 feet, at Beeroth 18 feet;² in some cases, as at Jerusalem, Jericho and Shechem, it formed at its base a revetment to the city mound which it enclosed, with its face sloping back as it

¹ The results are summarized to date in the Appendix to the writer's *Joshua: Judges*; and current excavations are described in the *Quarterly* of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine.

² Recent developments lead the excavator Dr. Badè to assign these walls, however, to the Iron Age, in which case they will represent the defences of Mizpah upon the older site.

rose. The stoutest work is found at Shechem, where the appearance is megalithic, and recalls the ramparts of the Hittite capital at Boghaz-Keui in Asia Minor. At Jericho the rampart rises from below the original ground level, and is surrounded by a broad dry fosse 11 feet in depth cut through the rocky subsoil. The stones recovered in this way were built into the rampart, some of them, each more than a ton in weight, forming the breast-high course. This rampart rests, not upon the rock, but upon a bed of clay, as a precaution against the effects of earthquake. It rises in parts still to its original height of about 21 feet, and is seen to have been crowned with a parapet of brick 4 feet thick, and apparently about 6 feet in height. Niches and steps seen along the inner face served the purposes of the defenders. In earlier times the gate was protected here by strong towers on either hand, and doubtless the system was perpetuated, as it is well seen at Kiriath Sepher. At Shechem the gate entrance was double and flanked by masonry of peculiar strength, again upon the Hittite model. The Israelite spies who first viewed the land of Canaan from the south reported truly that the cities were "fenced and very great."¹

Compared with the ramparts of the Canaanitish cities, the houses within appear for the most part incongruously poor in construction and irregular in plan. This observation applies particularly to buildings dated to the earlier part of the fifteenth century B.C., a troublous period in which rebuilding was frequent; so that, in the few sites where this level has been uncovered, the

Architecture.

¹ Numbers xiii, 28, J.E.

complex of superimposed foundations without obvious doorways perplexes the excavator and baffles ready explanation. The house-walls were generally thin, sometimes not more than one brick thick, laid crosswise, and based usually upon a bed of rough stones. Amid the ruins there may be made out here and there the traces of a courtyard with adjacent rooms; but, as in old-style native villages today, the ordinary houses were small and crowded together without much plan or method, development being restrained by the circumscribing rampart, a factor which also narrowed down the streets into mere passages, sometimes even irregular and tortuous. None the less, certain details relieve the picture. At Beisan one room was found to contain a small cement-built reservoir. Another room was provided with a small kitchen or baking-place lined with stone on sides and floor; the latter sloped downwards, and at its deepest end was found a basalt water-bowl. At Gezer a larger and evidently important house is seen to have been deliberately planned with rooms around two sides (at least) of a considerable courtyard, which was entered through a special guard-room. At the back of the court was a circular pit and by the side a granary; while a special cistern provided the establishment with water.¹

As the century wore on and public security improved in the reign of Amenhetep III, and doubtless under Egyptian tutelage, a marked improvement becomes apparent in the layout and construction of the larger buildings. One such at Gezer

¹ Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer* (P.E.F.), i, 169.

shows a whole series of well-squared rooms with substantial walls and intervening corridors, forming a compact unit in which, so far as excavated, there is no trace of a central court. The same may be said of the palatial building recently under excavation at Jericho, where a treble row of storerooms has come to light.¹ As the palace itself was almost entirely destroyed, it cannot be argued, however, that a different type of building is really represented by these discoveries; nor is it possible to agree that the foundations of another building, uncovered in the earlier excavation of Jericho, really reproduce the ground plan of the so-called "Hilani" type of building familiar in the Syro-Hittite and Mesopotamian areas of the period. In this the rooms are broad and parallel, and the entrance, in the middle of the long side, is usually flanked by towers or small guard-rooms. In the Jericho building, though the walls are well constructed and the ground plan conforms more or less to the Hilani model, the absence of doorways and a doubt about the date of the remains make it impossible to admit this new influence as characteristic of the period. On the other hand, the prevailing type of building, whether large or small, has the court as its essential if not central feature. This is well seen at Ta'anak, in a building classed by the excavators as a fort owing to the solidarity of its construction. It abuts upon the city ramparts; around two sides runs a series of seven square rooms (like the store-rooms of Jericho), while between them and the court intervene on one side a corridor and on the other further

¹ Described in the *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, Vol. xix (1932) *Sqq.*

rooms. The rest of the area was not excavated, but the scheme seems to have continued all around the court, which would thus form the central feature of the building. The walls in this case are 4 feet thick, and the foundations are properly laid in stone in the Canaanitish fashion; the rooms and court are exceptionally square and regular.¹ The building was doubtless one of special strength, possibly a palace-residence, and it seems to conform with the improved architectural style of the late fifteenth century B.C.

At Beisan several streets of houses of this date bear witness in various details and by their remarkable preservation to the improved methods of construction. The walls of the smaller buildings are still thin and laid on rather shallow foundations; bricks were laid uniformly as stretchers; but reeds were laid lengthwise in the mortar to strengthen the bond, while the finished wall was usually coated with plaster. The streets, though narrow, were arranged with some method, one being a central avenue into which the others lead from either side. The flanking walls were preserved to a height of some 6 feet, and the main street is thought to have been vaulted at a certain part. Two of the rooms of the area were clearly roofed with vaults seemingly of barrel-shape. The evidence of the vault is certain, and the position of certain pilasters in a house at Gezer rather suggests that this system was practised there also in some cases. It was, however, not the rule. The remains of house roofs found at Jericho in the debris of the burnt city contain rough timber beams, cross branches, mud and reeds, much the same as in the ordinary village houses of to-day.

¹ Sellin, *Tell Ta'anek*, p. 45.

Under the conditions in which the houses of this period can be explored the traces of domestic life are necessarily scanty ; they do assist, however, to visualize the daily occupations. At Beisan, a "silo" or small store pit contained traces of the flour originally stored therein. Nearby another room was furnished with a stone-lined and stone-floored place, seemingly for the preparation (mixing and kneading) of the bread, and close at hand was a semi-circular mill of basalt for grinding corn. In a third room beside this "kitchen" was found a small brick-lined receptacle which may have served for storing the bread after baking. As today, the oven itself would be a special construction outside the house, or in the court. At Jericho burnt houses beside the city wall have yielded from their debris actual foodstuffs, including dates and olives, an onion, a peppercorn, grain (both wheat and barley), stacked in pottery jars, as well as bread, in which the grain is very imperfectly milled, and even the unbaked dough left over to serve as yeast. Stores of grain on a large scale, as well as lentils, oil, wine and barley-beer, were found plenteously on the same site in the ruins of the palace area, where store-rooms arranged in three rows are found lined with great store-jars, and packed with vases great and small, below the black debris of a great conflagration. The building seems to have been two stories high, and to date in inception from the late Hyksos period, or at any rate the seventeenth century B.C. ; objects in the lower rooms mostly belong to that period, while those at a higher level carry on its use to the middle or close of the sixteenth century B.C. It is fairly clear that the stores of grain and oil, etc., which

were exceptional, represent an emporium of the Hyksos kings, subsequently maintained by the Pharaohs.

No single or homogeneous plan of building in any excavated site of Palestine can be recognized as representing a Canaanitish temple of the period.

That portion of the city of Bethshan

Temples. which from the age of Thutmose III was evidently a sacred area seems to have contained two if not three separate sanctuaries,¹ with their associated ante-rooms and small courts, as well as houses presumably for the priests and temple servants. These buildings were not necessarily all constructed within the same generation ; but when completed they tended to group themselves somewhat irregularly around a relatively large open space, or court, which then became the central feature of the sacred precincts. The entrance to this was from the west, and it gave access towards its south-eastern corner to an inner shrine, at a place near which were found the remains of a standing wooden pole. In the sanctuary was found a stone altar, perhaps for meat offerings, and a brick-stepped altar for objects of the cult. A room to the south of this sanctuary enclosed a broad-stepped altar of sacrifice ; while another, to its east, contained a large circular oven which may have served for roasting the sacrificed animals. Beyond this was a well, 43 feet in depth. Outside, that is to the south of this series of rooms, ran a long corridor, not quite straight, and being at

¹ Cf. Rowe, *Topography and History of Bethshan*, especially pp. 94, 98 ff. On the general question of the religious monuments of Palestine, the reader is referred to *The Religion of Palestine in the Light of Archaeology*, by Prof. S. A. Cook, 1930.

a slightly higher level, it was reached from the central courtyard by a short flight of steps. About the middle of the corridor against its inner face was a great stepped altar, some 17 feet long, 11 feet broad and 3 feet in height, and just behind it, flanking the stepped entrance to the court, was a small room containing two *mastabah*-seats, and a socket for a peg to which, it may be surmised, was tethered a guardian dog. A fine piece of sculpture, depicting a hound victorious over a lion in Mitannian-Babylonian style, found in the vicinity, suggests this explanation. Lastly, at the end of the corridor, inside a separate shrine, was found a stele showing the god Mekal, seated, and wearing a horned head-dress, together with a mazzebah¹ or conical stone, symbolic of the cult.

These features group themselves, as stated, around the south and east of the large open court, and it is clear that they mark the site of at least one shrine or temple. The stele states that this was erected for the builder Amen-en-Apt by his son, both of whom are represented in adoration of this local deity, and it would appear that the Pharaoh was associated in some way with this tribute. If these two officials were concerned with the planning and construction of the sacred buildings, it is the more remarkable that these show little method or cohesion, and no resemblance in plan to the Egyptian temple. They developed evidently according to the local habit, with walls of varying thickness, irregularly laid out, and architecturally much inferior to the palace-buildings of the period elsewhere.

¹ See further, on this emblem, p. 118.

A smaller series of rooms at Gezer, thought to represent a Semitic temple, though not completely excavated, shows a similar arrangement of court, corridor and adjacent rooms, together with an associated cistern, and as a special feature a row of standing monoliths.¹ It would seem that the native temples of the period may have been planned upon an accepted model, which was apparently that of the Mesopotamian and Hittite palace-temples, though subject to considerable local variation in detail and construction.

The chief interest in these buildings lies not in their architectural pretensions, but in the central cults and associated religious rites. The apparent

Religious
beliefs and
practice.

rarity and comparative poverty of the built temples in the Canaanite cities may not be altogether fortuitous. "The temple in Canaan, as in Greece, originally existed only when there was an idol to keep in it."² The people of Canaan, and, indeed, of all western Asia at this time were essentially nature worshippers; the central gods of their cult, by whatever names they might be called, were the Earth-Mother who brought forth the necessities and also the luxuries of life, and the Father-God upon whom she depended for her fertility and protection. In the lack of any graven image or personal conception of these divine forms they were symbolized by various elementary objects, a stone or even a serpent typifying the Earth, a pillar or other phallic emblem, or some vigorous animal like the bull or goat representing the great progenitor. A wooden pole erected near the entrance

¹ Macalister, *Gezer*, ii, fig. 491.

² Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 147.

to the inner shrine, as at Bethshan, represented the evergreen tree in which resided the fertility deities, and was called the Asherah. It was not always possible in crowded areas to place all sanctuaries under green trees, and in such cases the Asherah was set up beside the altar to mark the presence of the goddess,¹ and beside it, the mazzebah, a stone pillar, to represent the god or Baal. The fertility of each locality was thought to depend upon the goodwill of these supernatural owners of the soil, and sacrifices were offered to propitiate them, at first upon the upright stone, but later upon an altar beside it. Thus at most places of worship there would probably be only an altar under the open sky, with its accessories and sacred stones and posts, which required no housing. The great High Place at Gezer, with its row of hallowed monoliths and simple accessories, amid the plentiful traces of worship extending to the sacrifice not merely of animals but of human beings, especially children, provides a suggestive illustration of a Canaanitish ancient shrine.

The complexity of the temple at Bethshan reflects the tendencies of its age. Doubtless at an earlier period the design was simpler, when each deity was worshipped in a separate shrine with individual rites.

But this was an age of syncretism and assimilation, and religious practice was becoming modified also by political conditions. So far as can be discerned, the common deity of the peoples of Canaan in earlier times had been the sky-god, El, a divinity grouped in Babylonian mythology with Shems, the Sun, and

El, the
chief
deity.

¹ Deut. xii, 3.

accorded the familiar solar rites and emblems. He seems to have been the southern counterpart of the Syrian Hadad, and of the Hittite Teshub.¹ There are indications of his cult and leading position in the patriarchal age, e.g., *El Elyon*, "God Most High," whose shrine was at Jerusalem, and *El Shaddai*, who is met on numerous occasions; but in the Bible these early traces are obscured by the common use of the same Babylonian word, *El*, to connote any god or divine being, so that the precise significance of names like Jabneel (Let El build), Penue! (The face of El), and Bethel (The sanctuary of El) remains uncertain; while the plural form, *Elim*, was used in a very general way of supernatural beings or animistic spirits. None the less, certain instances of the use of EL are distinctive and connote the special divinity, the El, for example, in Genesis xxxiii, 20, *El E!ohe Israel*, "EL is the God of Israel"; Genesis x!vi, 3, "I am EL, the God of your Father." The same contrast occurs in passages relating to Bethel, indicating the particular character of the local deity. Thus, in Genesis xxxi, 13, "I am EL of Bethel," the speaker being the angel (*malakh*) of E!ohim (the Hebrew form of God); and again in Genesis xxxv, 1-3, "E!ohim said, Make an altar for EL, who appeared to thee," and there are other instances.

The further distinction between *El* and *E!ohim*, with which, however, we are not at the moment concerned, is usually thought to be literary rather than real, the latter being the "plural of majesty" used in classical Hebrew. It should not, however, be overlooked that a singular form, *E!oah*, is found in

¹ See pp. 70, 82.

Job and other sacred Hebrew books, so that *Elohim* may really imply plurality of the Godhead ; in other words, a composite divinity. However that may be, the original distinction and wide acceptance of the cult of El in Canaan seems clearly to transpire in the patriarchal legends ; and this conclusion is supported by the direct testimony of the Ras Shamra tablets. These are dated to the 14th century B.C., but are copies of older documents ; and they clearly indicate El as the supreme deity in the Phœnician-Hebrew world, including Canaan, which is, in fact, described as the "land of El absolutely," wherein nothing could be done without his order.¹ The principal goddesses named in these texts are Asherat, also called Allat, and Ashtart or Anat ; but El was the supreme deity.

The widespread worship of a common deity implies a one-time unity, political, racial and religious. In the 15th century B.C., however, of which we write, Canaan was disintegrating under Egyptian policy and rule, and the city-states were resuming more and more their original independence of action. El, like Teshub among the Hittite confederated cities, thus became localised, until his national character was submerged and he became a Baal, adapted to the local needs and customs of individual cities. The Canaanite Baal, while conforming to a more or less standardized conception, and known throughout the country by his generic name, was localized and domiciled in the various city centres, wherein each version tended more and more to develop individual character and importance, whilst

¹ R. Dussaud, *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology*, Pt. 3, 1934. Cf. further below, pp. 158, 175.

some eventually attained a wide reputation beyond their own district.¹ But he neither claimed nor expected allegiance or obedience to his authority from without, and so his worship became an influence tending to separate district from district, and city from city, rather than a bond of union.

However their special qualities or powers developed, all these local deities retained their primal attributions. Each was the "King," the "Father," the leader in war, and the guardian or protector for his own city and locality. Apart from his help there could be no hope of good crops; even the rain was within his control. He was essentially the local embodiment of the Syrian Hadad or Adad, otherwise Addu, the famous god of storm, thunder, and rain, with whose name "Baal" is found in fact to interchange,² and in a similar way the counterpart of the Hittite Teshub in his local aspect. But among all the Hittite peoples there prevailed also the conception of Teshub as a common national deity exalted to the leading male position in their pantheon, of whom the city gods of that name were local manifestations. Among the Canaanites, by contrast, there is nothing to suggest that all the worshippers of Baal were united by a common religion: the local Baal seems to have remained for each district an individual and even jealous god, an element of separation rather than a bond. Canaan still lacked that unifying factor which alone could weld its inhabitants together as a single people.

A god so powerful required both humouring by festivals and propitiating by sacrifice. Worship of

¹ Cf. Oesterley and Robinson, *Hebrew Religion*, pp. 157, 173.

² Cook, in *Camb. Anct. Hist.*, I, 231.

the former kind, such as the celebration of the harvest or the vintage, was probably, as elsewhere, common to both the Baal and his consort ; but the reception of a sacrifice, human or animal, seems to have been the prerogative of the male god. Sacrifice is of two kinds : one is of the nature of an offering, usually a burnt offering in which a good smell adds to its attraction ; the other is a communion, a feast or sacrament shared by the god and his devotees. In the former case, though preference might exist for certain animals, yet in common practice any domestic animal might be offered that provided a good meal in human experience. In the latter case, however, the ceremonial was more intimate : it aimed at renewing the bond between god and man, and for this purpose the animals sacred to, or characteristic of, the god were alone deemed appropriate. The ceremonies clearly demanded adequate provision of the material kind. It is also plain that the means taken to secure the mediation of the god would be generally applicable to the goddess in those problems of life and death which came within her special province. The two cults thus tended to fuse in practice ; indeed, among the Hittites and no doubt throughout all Hittite Syria, the actual union of the two deities became a seasonal festival.¹

The chief goddess in the dual cult of Canaan was an Astarte, differing only locally in attributes and powers from the Earth-Mother whose worship we have seen to have prevailed throughout all western Asia, the Ishtar of Babylon, Nineveh and Mesopotamia, the Asherah or Ashtoreth of the Bible. In

¹ See, on this subject, above, p. 82 f.

Hittite Asia Minor and Syria she appears as the supreme and older divinity of the pair, and in the dual cult as the predominating partner. In parts of Asia she was worshipped independently of the male, being herself the eternal source of life. Love and War and even a legendary power over Death were counted among her attributes; and in Syria her cult with that of Adonis survived well into historic times. But in Canaan she appears in a more subdued rôle; partly perhaps because of the constant need of an active warrior god, but chiefly it would appear in response to the ever-present influence of the parallel Arabian cult. None the less, her worship was general; clearly in its simple form it appealed more directly to woman in daily life, and more intelligibly, than the formal ceremonies and developed practices around the high place of the city temple. The hundreds of votive figurines of naturalistic types are evidence of the reality and duration of the popular belief in her special powers; and an actual image of the goddess in possession of the Chieftain of Ta'anak, the earliest of the kind on record, was widely credited with special powers of divination.¹ It is highly probable that the goddess reigned in the hearts of the people independently of and above all else.

That the worship of the local Baal and Ashtoreth should tend to become fused in ceremonial practice is but the natural outcome of their very nature. The joint sanctuary at Beisan provides illustration of this inevitable tendency.² There the most striking

¹ Sellin, *Ta'anek*, p. 114; Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine*, p. 123.

² See above, p. 115.

features of the sacred area comprise the altars and all the accessory arrangements for the sacrifice of animals to the local Baal, named Mekal, a form of the Egyptian War-God Resheph, whose actual image is found carved upon an Egyptian stele.¹ But the same enclosure gave access to another shrine, which was doubtless that of the goddess Ashtoreth herself, since within the courtyard have been found offerings dedicated to this goddess, as well as representations of her human form, the one a naked figurine of a familiar class in Syria, the other draped and engraved in Egyptian style on a gold pendant; while in the immediate precincts the discovery of other emblems, including the gazelle and serpent, confirm the nature of the cult. A Babylonian element, reflecting possibly the origin and annexation of the shrine, is to be seen amid the plentiful traces of Egyptian influence, in a relief which depicts the guard-dog of the temple fighting with and ultimately victorious over the Lion of Nergal, the Babylonian deity of pestilence and war.

The Egyptian features among the cult objects found within the temple precincts at Bethshan represent the period when the position was occupied by an Egyptian garrison, and may have been accompanied by some modification in the established rites. The introduction of the Egyptian Resheph, the war-god, however, looks more like a simple case of official syncretism. The sanctuary was evidently famous and the native worship seems to have survived this period unchanged, as may be judged by the later Hittite offerings of arms and

¹ Rowe, *loc. cit.*; Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 129, and frontispiece.

trophies found at the foot of the altar, and by the tribute paid to the goddess at a still later date, according to Biblical tradition, by the Philistines.¹ In this case the name of the goddess transpires in its familiar Hebrew form of Ashtoreth, and it may be assumed that the local worship had long resumed its normal features. Whether these differed materially from the rites and practices usually associated with this goddess is not known by direct allusion, but would seem improbable from the several references in the Bible to the centres of the cult in Canaan and Trans-Jordan. Here, as throughout the Syro-Hittite and Mesopotamian areas, sacrifices of various kinds, not excluding sacred harlotry, were apparently the common practice, while the great seasonal festivals would be associated with scenes of orgy and excitement such as usually attended the worship of the Nature-goddess, and later called forth the warnings and condemnation of the prophets of Israel.

Before passing from the subject of Bethshan, we may note that in this one spot of Palestine in which the levels of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries B.C. have been systematically explored, there have been found traces of cultural influences from each of those societies and areas, Babylonia, Egypt and Hittite Syria, which we have recognized as forming the social environment of Palestine. Each contributed in its turn and after its own fashion to promote the local cult, and in so doing left witness of the widening tendency towards fusion and unification which emerges from our foregoing considerations as the outstanding feature in the religious evolution of the age.

¹ 1 Samuel xxxi, 10. Cf. below, p. 239.

Notwithstanding the clear evidence of an officially established cult, the religion of the people was probably little affected by the public ceremonials and rites, which called upon them to fulfil a seasonal duty but could hardly satisfy their more personal requirements. Side by side with the accepted nature-worship we must assume that there co-existed other more primitive forms of religion, such as may be traced through the pages of the Old Testament, and were presumably practised as old customs by the Canaanites without regard to their origin and character, as was the case later with the Israelites themselves. Small objects found in tombs and cities of the period betray, in fact, much the same background of popular religion as that which is more clearly revealed by the later Hebrew writings. Among these the veneration of sacred trees, and stones, and springs, common to both Aryan and Semite, was but the practical daily expression of gratitude, hope or anxiety concerning the harvest or the home, and endures to this day both in Syria and in Asia Minor.¹ The woman in despair who ties a rag upon a sacred tree, such as can often still be seen by the wayside in these lands, probably derives more comfort from that simple act of faith than from the most elaborate ceremonial and doctrine of the State religion.

In the same class of religious custom we would include the Canaanitish burial practices. These were well established, and notwithstanding all

¹ Cf. Canaan, *Haunted Springs and Water Demons in Palestine*; in *J.P.O.S.*, I, pp. 163 ff.

political upheavals and racial changes, had continued radically the same from the beginning of settled life. The dead were buried in family or tribal "vaults," whether caves or grottos, hewn out in waste ground outside the city. **Burial customs.** At Jericho, which after the Hyksos period had been much reduced in size and correspondingly impoverished, shallow open graves were in use at the time of which we write, but this seems to have been exceptional. The necropolis lay to the west of the city, but at Beisan it is found in a ridge to the north, and at Gezer to the east, so that the actual position appears to have no special significance.

The same tomb usually served its owners for many generations: the grottos at Jericho were not actually full, but the graves were filled almost to the present level of the surface. Every now and then, it is evident, the desiccated remains and offerings were brushed aside to make room for newcomers, and owing to the repeated disturbances it is neither possible to reconstruct the original position of the interments nor to separate the offerings placed with each. It may be surmised, however, from what may be seen of the latest burials in these tombs, that the favoured position for the body (in the age with which we are dealing) was full length with head north, usually on the back, but occasionally lying on the left side with face east. There is no trace at this period of the primitive crouched or "embryonic" position. With the dead were placed pottery vases in great profusion and variety; many were chosen specimens, if not special fabrics, such as are not common in the city remains, but others were of the domestic class. It would appear that

certain objects were considered indispensable, and these included a lighted lamp, a juglet for oil, a platter, presumably for bread, and a large jar, doubtless for water. Other vessels seem to have been designed for fruits and foodstuffs and choice beverages: these varied in quality and quantity doubtless according to the means and status of the deceased.

In the earliest graves, traces of bread and the dregs of drinks have been actually observed; but in those of the fifteenth century (the Late Bronze Age), though the appropriate vessels were placed within the burial chamber, many of them look as though they never contained any such provisions. In addition, the dead were frequently accompanied by their personal belongings: the woman with her beads and trinkets, the warrior with his knife and weapons, the elder or chief with his signet or that of his royal suzerain whom he evidently represented in person. There is a suggestion that the well of some of the more important tombs lay open for a time to receive supplementary offerings, not, however, for longer than the generation of the deceased.

The archæology of other Canaanite tombs, including notably Gezer, Beth Shemesh and Beisan, tells a consistent story of an established burial practice. It was based on the universal belief in a future life or state, originally conceived upon an earthly model, and provision was made for the requirements of the flesh. But time brought its modification, in which the actual foodstuffs were omitted, while the durable offerings and the signs of respect were multiplied. That this change corresponded to a fresh conception of a spiritual existence hereafter seems probable, but

cannot be asserted without the help of contemporary literature on the subject. In Egypt the priesthood taught of a revival or return of the soul after a long cycle of years, and the body was carefully embalmed and protected to await this day. But what is taught is not necessarily that which human instinct believes, and burial practices in particular tend to become social customs. Even to-day, to the writer's knowledge, Arab women of middle Egypt have been seen to bury bread above the resting place of their departed dead at the festival which corresponds to our All-Hallows Eve.

Exception must be made, however, in a special type of burial, which apparently denoted in some instances infant sacrifice.¹ This practice is well attested by the remains found in great number, all of infants newly born, on the High Place at Gezer, and by numerous scattered examples found even in city-sites of Palestine. It was more common in the centuries which immediately preceded the age of which we write. These infants were buried in tapering pottery jars in which they were usually placed head first, and with them were sometimes placed small choice vases.² In houses, as at Jericho, they were deposited below the floors of the rooms, sometimes in the corner, but not as a rule below the walls. Exceptions may be presumed to indicate special circumstances. Even to-day stillborn or prematurely-born infants are occasionally buried in the corners of the house rooms, and an evident instance in antiquity has been found at Ta'anak. At Jericho newly-born twins are found in recent

¹ Cook, *Religion of Ancient Palestine*, 79, 82 ff.

² Macalister, *Gezer*, ii, pp. 402-406.

excavations to have been buried in this way. It does not follow that all children so buried were necessarily sacrificed. Infant mortality must have been great, and since at Jericho only three clearly infant burials have been found in the tombs of the necropolis, those found within the city may represent a normal practice. The burial of the infant baby in the home seems to have assured the presence of the soul or spirit, perhaps waiting to be born again ; while the shrine sacred to infants buried beneath its shadow would invite the prayers of devout but childless women.

Pottery-making, so abundantly illustrated by the tomb deposits of Palestine, was one of the most successful industries of the country, and attained its zenith before the close of the Hyksos period. Probably

**Arts and
Crafts.**

every big community had its local potteries, at which were made the familiar domestic vessels, cooking pots and common water jars : the finer vases were naturally confined to those areas which produced most suitable clays. Many of these display considerable taste and technical skill, with a measure of artistic instinct in their variety and elegance of form, as well as careful finish of surface and decoration in colours. The finest objects were those imported from Cyprus or elsewhere in the north. These were seized upon as models by the local artists, who did their best to reproduce them in form and style with such materials as they could command. In Egypt, owing to the scarcity of good clay and the abundance of workable stone, the making of pottery was neglected as an art, notwithstanding its early promise, so that the specimens imported into Canaan from the time of

Thutmose III, though differing in type, provided little stimulus to the local potters.

As usual, the pottery of the various historic epochs reflects the political and trade relations of the period. Without going back to the earliest times, a Babylonian influence is found as early as 2000 B.C. in certain anthropoid or anthropomorphic specimens, such as are characteristic of contemporary art in Babylonia. These were not necessarily imported from the Euphrates, but reflect the common Babylonian culture of the age. This influence gave way in Hyksos times to a new series made possible by a better understanding of the potter's wheel. Tapering vases with handles and "pinched" lips, goblets, dishes on pedestals, bowls imitating metallic forms, and small juglets of high finish, are found among the innovations of this age. These continued to be reproduced, with gradual modification, until the fifteenth century B.C., and with them are associated the slender fabrics and the decorated bowls of Cyprus, with their local copies.¹ Towards the close of the period appeared the early Mycenæan, Egyptian and other imported specimens, which followed in the wake of extended trade relations consequent upon the Egyptian annexation of the country. Under the stimulus of these new motives, vases of exceptional quality and finish of surface were not infrequently produced by the local genius, who excelled at some times in his use of paint, at others in original efforts at plastic modelling. In addition to the special designs

¹ See further p. 389 and the illustration facing p. 390.

appropriate for cult objects and votive offerings, considerable scope for ingenuity and experiment was afforded also by the domestic requirements of the age, so that examples are frequently found of native lamps, pottery funnels, strainers, dishes, drinking cups, store-vessels and even a simple form of beehive.

Metal dishes, though counted by the Pharaohs in good number among their spoils, are rarely found, but two silver vessels with fluted bowls from Beisan, and a few admirable specimens from other places, are sufficient proof of their existence, though their rarity evokes a suspicion that they may have been imported from some other more favoured region.

Copper and its alloy, bronze, were freely worked ; moulds for casting have been found at Gezer, and old copper workings are to be seen east of the Arabah (p. 375). Finished products found at Jericho include knives, lance-heads, battle axes, rings and scarab mountings, eyed needles, long pins with ribbed heads, toggle pins, and brooches, together with a considerable variety of simple implements, including awls, tweezers and the like.

Stone utensils are common, comprising the familiar grinding mills, pounding stones on three short legs, hand mills, mortars with pestles, and small spindle whorls. Stone bowls are occasionally found, but are mostly crude, while the rotary quern was apparently not yet invented. Indeed, well-finished and polished articles of stone are rare : the rough and gritty stone which alone most localities could furnish militated against progress in working this material, so that the polished mace-heads of veined limestone and other rare products were probably imported. The finer quality of white stone now used

for building purposes in Jerusalem and elsewhere apparently remained unknown ; it can indeed only be obtained by deep quarrying with modern methods. Flint implements, however, were much in use, and though not so well fashioned perhaps as in earlier times, attest that the art of working flint was by no means lost. Skinning knives, arrow heads and saws were commonly made of this material, and it is probable that many nondescript flakes found in the strata of this period still served a useful purpose. The poorer people, throughout ancient history, used the cheapest tools.

Ivory was rare, and only small objects like spindle whorls, beads and amulets were commonly carved from this material, although elephant hunts in central Syria were a reputed pastime of the Pharaohs. A fine bull's head in ivory, about three inches high, found in an early stratum at Jericho, may be judged from its Babylonian style to have been imported. Even the handles of daggers, such as were in Egypt quite commonly cut in ivory, seem in Canaan to have been fashioned usually of wood, tipped with butts of limestone. Bone took the place of ivory for quite a number of smaller carvings and ornamental inlays, the pattern worked in both these materials including designs from animals, fish and birds. Their character indicates the existence of furniture and small boxes, the wood of which, however, has perished with time.

The conditions of domestic life and agriculture illustrated by these various requisites and simple ornaments disclose to us a picture of village and country life such as may be seen in any rural district to-day. A land devoid of mineral resources and of

convenient harbours changes little in its mode of life, particularly when, as in this case, the great majority of its agricultural districts and their villages lie off the international trade-routes.

Contemporary Egyptian records tell only of two social grades, the chieftains or princes and the slaves. The agents of a despotic government could only discriminate in these terms between the leisured and the working classes. The former doubtless shared in the political and material advantages which the suzerainty of Egypt offered in peacetime; but the lot of the workers remained unaffected, and their outlook on life, under the permanent influence of their surroundings, cannot have changed much, if at all, through the ages.

The people of Canaan were illiterate, as are the peasantry of Palestine to-day. Their language was already a maturing form of early Hebrew, and as a means of writing they had inherited the Babylonian system of expressing syllabic sounds by a great number of cuneiform signs (like groups of wedges). These differed from one another only in small details, difficult to memorize, and were evidently ill-adapted to reproduce their own spoken words. The current language of diplomacy, as we have already seen, was Babylonian, and as this was largely foreign, it is not surprising that contemporary letters show traces of difficulties and dialectic differences. For their official correspondence with the neighbouring monarchies the Canaanite chieftains must have maintained trained scribes and presumably also schools. Out of this complex of culture and necessity emerged a system of alphabetic writing in which a limited number of consonants replaced the

syllabic combinations of the other scripts. Whether the idea was derived from abroad, by Mediterranean contact, is not known ; but experiments to achieve the purpose have been found as far apart as Sinai and Ras Shamra on the Phœnician coast. In the latter case a number of cuneiform signs was selected as the basis, and these were impressed upon clay tablets after the Babylonian fashion. The result was so far successful that the writing can be understood by experts,¹ and though only one local experiment in this direction has been found,² the new system clearly gained some ground. It is probable, however, from various indications that the Canaanites largely employed papyrus, and this has perished in the wet climate.

The experiments observed in Sinai seem to have met with more enduring success ; and in this case, appropriately, a selected number of Egyptian hieroglyphs formed the basis. Certain phrases, brief but intelligible, reveal a proto-Hebrew language, and a few scratchings in the same style, found at Gezer, Tell el Hesy, and, quite recently, at Tell el Duweir,³ though fragmentary, show that this momentous cultural discovery was welcomed by the people of Palestine. In one particular, however, it failed to respond to the requirements of the Hebrew language, namely, in the lack of vowel signs, which were not represented in the Egyptian syllabary from which it was derived. This difficulty doubtless prevented its ready adaptation to the local dialects

¹ See the current publications by M. Virolleaud in *Syria*, xii, p. 15 ff. ; cf. below, p. 144.

² At Beth Shemesh in 1933, by Elihu Grant, cf. *P.E.F.*, *Q.S.*, 1934, pp. 2, 141.

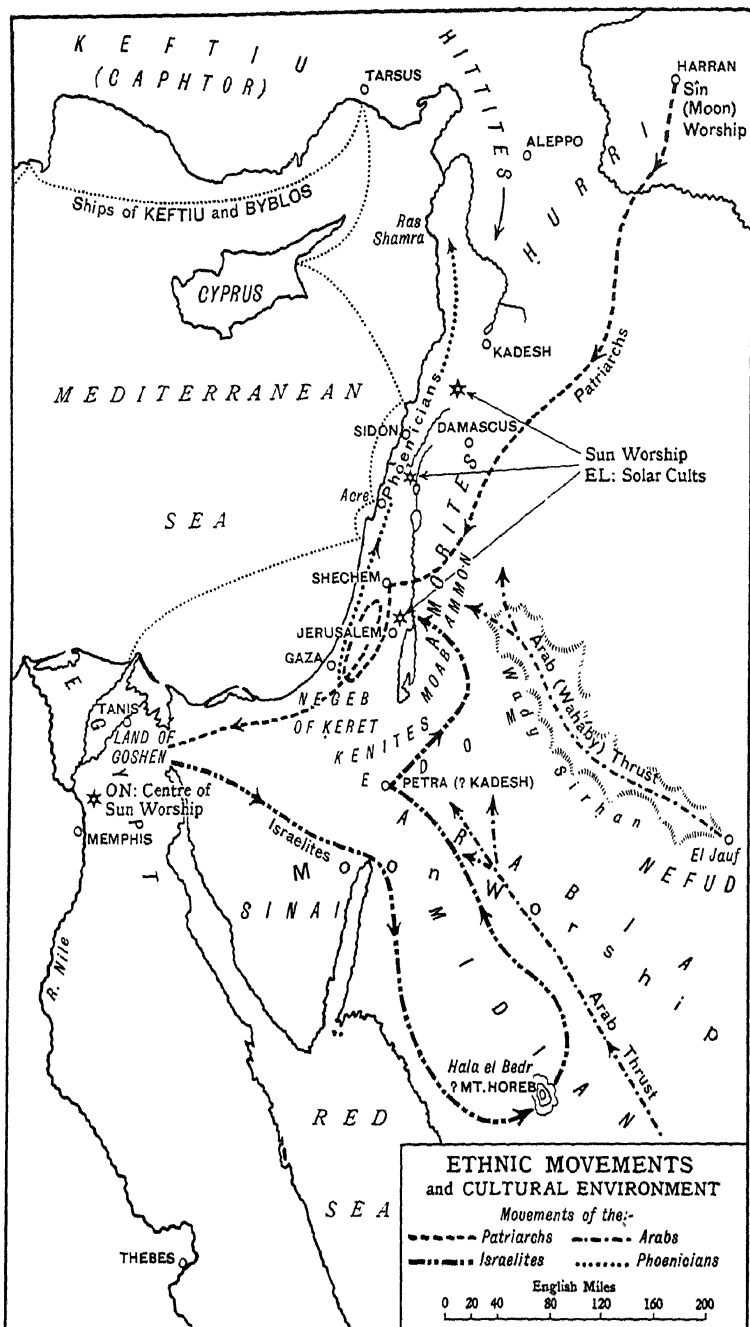
³ By Mr. J. L. Starkey, *The Times*, July 25, 1934.

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and restrained its development. It survived, none the less, and in the Hebrew script of later times, as all know, the missing vowels became indicated by points.

No single feature in the civilization of Canaan, to this date, illustrates so completely the effects of environment and the consequent evolution of local genius as does this far-reaching invention. Some cultural influences, as we have seen, can be traced to political sources; but the development of thought is more complex and baffles attempts at analysis. Among the many factors on which civilization is based, racial heritage and environment claim first place; for the same influences may react differently upon people of different race and temper, and the results may be modified by change of circumstance or political conditions.

We turn now to examine, so far as materials permit, the original sociological characteristics of the people who in their turn entered the land, with its now time-honoured heritage of social customs and religious tendencies.



CHAPTER V.

THE ORIGINS OF ISRAEL.

The Coming of Israel—contrasted with movements of Bedouin. Sources for early history—patriarchal legends : their background historical—pastoral tradition. Egyptian social influences : race : numbers : language. Religion : syncretism of Yahweh, the pastoral moon-god of the southern Hebrews, with El, the agricultural solar deity of Canaan. Israel becomes a theocratic unity.

THE newcomers were the Israelites, a clan of desert-born nomads, who appeared about 1400 B.C. from the south-eastern deserts, intent on settling in the land. Thwarted in their initial effort to capture the walled cities by force of arms, they none the less under inspired leadership secured a footing ; and later, during a period of political weakness and disorder, they succeeded in establishing themselves as scattered tribal units throughout the hill-country. Thereafter, multiplying greatly under the *Pax Aegyptiaca*, and reinforced by intermarriage with the older inhabitants and by the adhesion of co-religionists in the south, they gradually became the predominant element in the population, and, notwithstanding local difficulties, displaced the weakening Canaanites in the towns. Ultimately, as Egyptian authority declined under the later Ramesside kings, they

united all Palestine for the first time under a single leader. The process took four centuries, but in the end it brought about a profound change in the social order and religion of the land, a change unparalleled in earlier history, and comparable with the effects of the later organized invasions of superior powers, such as the Moslem conquest under Omar. The Arabs came, however, in overwhelming numbers, which gave them a rapid preponderance in race.

The Israelite achievement must appear by contrast the more outstanding when we appreciate the relative smallness of their numbers at the outset.

**Camping
under war
conditions.**

In this respect the figures as handed down in the Old Testament¹ are demonstrably wrong. The Arabian deserts can only support a limited number of inhabitants, and there is no surplus of food or water for migratory hordes. A tribal camp of 4,000 nomads on war footing has been seen in recent years, near Ma'an in Trans-Jordan: it occupied a space about a mile long and half a mile in width, even though the tents were pitched so closely that the guy ropes crossed, and formed a veritable entanglement. The confusion of restrained animals and children, and the difficulty of supplying water, was such as manifestly could not be endured for more than a few days, and marks that number as almost the limit that could be crowded into a single camp. This illustration is apposite, for the route taken by the Israelites had led them through hostile tribal areas, where they would have to camp and move for safety in relatively close formation. Consideration of all

¹ Exodus xii 37b, J; Numbers i and ii, P; Joshua, iv, 13, P.

the circumstances of their coming, the conditions of their previous desert life, the limited supply of water, the space required for their camp and the grazing of their flocks, and the subsequent limitation to their military achievements, shows that at that time they cannot have numbered more than six or seven thousand souls.¹

That the Israelites accomplished their purpose at all appears the more remarkable when we take into account their immediate past, and their age-long pastoral tradition. According to the Biblical account, they had just completed a sojourn of more than a generation on the borders of Edom, probably in the neighbourhood of Petra, the Kadesh of their narrative, where their habits of life can have differed little if at all from those of the Bedouin in those parts to-day. The life-routine of the Bedoui varies little, being in fact dictated by his surroundings: he must bring his flocks in rotation to the meagre and scattered pastures, leaving at each spot sufficient for those which follow, timing their movements so that they arrive duly at a watering place. All this he learns to do from childhood; but he cannot change these habits, nor does experience enable him to short-circuit the daily round. Change comes only with the routine of the year, when the camp is moved. Then the scattered groups of tents are struck and a combined move is made to a new haunt, in the valley or on the hills, according to the season. The following year, if his rights are established and times are normal, he returns and repeats his programme;

Nomads,
life and
movements.

¹ Cf. further, *Joshua : Judges*, pp. 120-1.

though occasionally some major power may deflect him from his course, such as raiding desert tribes, or drought in the interior of Arabia.

As already noted,¹ the thrust from Arabia is ever outwards: that vast area has never been invaded, and the tendency of movement among these border tribes is always towards Palestine. The pressure is slight but persistent. Year after year the tents of semi-nomads, in scattered groups, may be found at the mouth of every suitable opening in the hills. In the ordinary course, having now reached the fringe of occupied territory, they must turn back, to reappear at some other spot where their arrangements for water and grazing have long been established. If, however, political conditions were to change, and the doors to the interior were to open, they would just as readily press in, to be replaced in their old haunts by others.

In time of actual disturbance the Bedouin band together by family groups, partly for their mutual reassurance, partly maybe to await some opportunity of bettering their lot. In the Spring of 1919, when the country was still disorganized by war, two thousand nomads crossed the Jordan and pitched their tents on the northern slopes of the valley of Jezreel, where the Midianites encamped in the days of Gideon; and in the next year a mounted raiding party, 600 strong, attacked Beisan, the historic key to southern Palestine, which was actually garrisoned by a British force. Nowadays each tribe has its grazing ground defined, and the movements of its detachments are controlled.

¹ Above p. 42 ff

On the outer desert border the pressure sometimes becomes a menace. In recent years the rumoured withdrawal of British troops from Palestine was soon followed by a mass raid of fanatical Wahábis, who almost reached Amman, and were only deterred by British aeroplanes from their design of destroying all before them. This instance presents the nearest known parallel of modern times to the Israelite movement ; for the Wahábis represent the Puritans of their faith,¹ are animated by religious zeal, led by religious chiefs, and give their lives unhesitatingly in sacrifice to their own sacred cause.

From the instances adduced, it would seem at first glance possible to secure a picture of Israelite society in the mirror of the more recent inhabitants of the regions from which they came, by making the appropriate historical adjustments ; and such is indeed the method freely adopted by modern enquirers. But the picture could not be complete, and might prove to be a mirage ; for the Israelites, according to their patriarchal legends, though Semites, were not Arabs in the ordinary connotation of the term, but Aramæans² ; and their entry into Palestine was not a result of the Arabian thrust. It is true that they had sojourned on the borders of Edom and learnt the pastoral arts of the locality, but they had come there from the desert frontier of Egypt. Moreover, they made good ; and though in the end this was effected by peaceful penetration, there was clearly a unifying

¹ On the subject of the Wahábis, the reader may consult, *inter alia*, Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys*, 1831, and of more recent books, Philby, *The Heart of Arabia*, 1922. See further below, pp. 179, n., and 184.

² Genesis x, 21 ff. ; xxxi, 20 f. : reading *Aramæan* for *Syrian*.

factor present in their society, which distinguishes their movement from the casual though constant infiltration of Bedouin. While the latter are steadily absorbed into the stock of the population,¹ the Israelites held together for generations, though dispersed and living as semi-nomads among peoples superior in numbers and in culture, and were ultimately enabled to break down the disruptive barriers of the country² and form a nation. This special factor, as all know, was their unique religion ; and the result does more than demonstrate the undying faith and tenacity of purpose on the part of Israel's leaders. It shows that something must have happened to transform the erstwhile clan of nomads, with purely pastoral traditions, into a theocratic unit bound together to an unusual degree by a moral purpose. Having arrived at this conclusion, we find it impossible to distinguish those social institutions of Palestine which the Israelites introduced, from those which were inherent in the land and absorbed into their own polity, without looking back for a while at their past ; for only in this way can we secure a detached view of the essential characteristics of their society and race.

This stage of our enquiry is beset with special difficulties. In the first place the whole source of direct information as to the Israelites' antecedents

**Previous
history :
sources.**

is limited to their own traditions, and there remain few means of testing their reliability. Archæology, in this case, almost fails to help, for nomads leave

¹ See above, p. 42 ff.

² On this subject also see above, pp. 23, 31.

little trace of their presence except the meagre remains of their camp fires. Independent historical allusions also are almost nil: the Israelite group was so small and politically unimportant at the outset that it did not attract the attention of the Pharaoh's archivists till the age of Merneptah nearly 200 years later, though there is possibly earlier allusion to certain individual tribes and units. The mention in a more nearly contemporary Amarna letter¹ of one "Yashuya," in connexion with disturbances in and around the Jordan valley may indeed refer to Joshua, but until the point is decided this document can hardly be used as evidence. It is true that Habiru-Hebrews were known in Babylonia as early as the age of Hammurabi,² which is that of Abraham, while there is allusion to their god or gods in certain Syro-Hittite treaties of the age of Joshua.³ But the Israelites according to their own traditions were descended from a particular and rather exclusive branch of the Hebrew family,⁴ which had early detached itself and migrated westward, and thus claims an independent social history; so that even as late as the time of Saul and David a distinction between Israelites and other Hebrews was still recognized.⁵ Nevertheless, the external sources, which include certain Egyptian, Babylonian, and Hittite records, throw separate rays of light upon the historical background of the period, and thus together provide a means of checking the broad outline of the patriarchal legends.

¹ Knudtzon, No. 256.

² Langdon, *Expos. Times*, xxxi, p. 328; cf. *Joshua: Judges*, p. 256.

³ Well set out in Jack, *Date of the Exodus*, 1925, f. p. 272.

⁴ Genesis xi, 27, 31.

⁵ Cf. 1 Samuel xiv, 21; xxix, 3.

A further consideration arises in connexion with the Biblical text, in which we rely mostly, as already explained, upon the oldest elements recognized by modern scholarship. Even these are usually thought to have taken their written form no earlier than the eighth or seventh centuries B.C., and if this were so they would be far from providing contemporary information. However, they admittedly contain snatches of folk-songs, some reminiscent of Bedouin life,¹ others commemorating early battles fought in the name of Yahweh,² as well as extracts from an older written text, the book of Jashar,³ of which no copy has yet been found. Moreover, a comparison of certain passages with Egyptian archives,⁴ and a scrutiny of topographical details, suggest that some part of the J and E documents must have had an earlier written basis. Fresh discoveries favour this contention: as already mentioned, the tablets unearthed at Ras Shamra, in the north-west of Syria, are found to be inscribed in a simple but definite form of a kindred Hebrew language⁵; the script is alphabetical and makes use of a selected number of cuneiform signs. A similar fragment has been found quite recently in Palestine itself.⁶ Expert opinion assigns these texts to the fourteenth century B.C.; so that the possibility of

¹ E.g., Genesis iv, 23, 24, J; Numbers xxi, 17, JE.

² E.g., Numbers xxi, 14-15, JE.; Judges v. (Deborah's Song) E.

³ Mentioned in Joshua x, 13, J; 2 Samuel i, 18.

⁴ The record of Judges iii, 13, E, is approximately contemporary and identical in substance with that of the *Annals of Seti I*, Year 1. Cf. *Joshua: Judges*, p. 270.

⁵ Virolleaud, *Syria*, xii, p. 193; xiii, p. 133; xiv, p. 128 ff; Dussaud, *Rev. de l'Hist. des Religions*, 1931, ii, pp. 353-408; 1932, i, pp. 245-302; and 1933, i, pp. 1-49. Also above, p. 135.

⁶ Cf. Grant, E., quoted in P.E.F., Q.S., 1934, p. 2.

the art of writing, in early Hebrew, having been adopted by the leaders of Israel soon after their entry into Palestine, that is in the age of Joshua, is now to be admitted. We may therefore use the records in the book of Joshua with more confidence ; indeed a scrutiny of their subject-matter discloses an underlying basis of material fact. But for the time being these considerations do not apply with the same force to the books of Exodus and Numbers, which are our immediate concern, as they admittedly embody later elements. Nor can they be applied at all to the Book of Genesis, the subject-matter of which embodies ancestral memories at least 400 years older than these earliest examples of written Hebrew. Happily in this connexion Babylonian history gives some circumstantial help.

The patriarchal episodes as narrated in the Book of Genesis may be separated into two groups, distinguished by the maintenance of relations in the one with Mesopotamia, and in the other with Egypt. The former¹ covers the migration of Abraham with his nephew Lot from Harran into Canaan, the birth of his son Isaac, and his grandson Jacob, both of whom maintain relations with Harran and marry wives from among their Aramæan kindred of that area. This period covers about 200 years, commencing shortly before the accession of Hammurabi to the throne of Babylon. Now the dynasty of which Hammurabi was fifth king was of Semitic and probably western origin ; in any case it united all western Asia under a single rule, during which

**Patriarchal
epochs.**

¹ Genesis xii-xxxvii.

intercourse between Babylonia, Mesopotamia and Palestine was relatively unrestrained. This state of things came to an abrupt end with the fall of the dynasty, the result of a raid by Anatolian Hittites, who by the capture of the powerful city Aleppo, as well as of Babylon, closed for the time being the doors of direct communication with Mesopotamia. It is noticeable that, precisely at this time, the relations of the patriarchs with Mesopotamia came to an end.

In addition to this circumstantial agreement, it is becoming more and more evident with the publication of original Babylonian documents, in particular those of Kirkuk (Arrapha), that much of the folk-lore embodied in the patriarchal stories really reflects established social practices of the widespread Hurrian (or Horite) civilization.¹ The parallels are enough to fill a lengthy monograph, and as our present object is only to enquire into the character of these legends in a general way, we must be content with three striking illustrations which have recently been pointed out.² The removal by Rachel of her father's house-gods,³ and the latter's anxiety to recover them, is explained by the fact that according to Hurrian law the possession of such teraphim by a woman's husband insured title to the property of his father-in-law. Again the story of Sarah

¹ On the identity of Hurrian and Horite, see above, p. 27; cf. Speiser, *Ethnic Movements in the Near East*, in 'Ann. A.S.O.R.' xiii, 1931-2, p. 26 ff. On the Hurrian question in general the reader is referred to Sidney Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, p. 374, etc. Cf. also Böhl, *Das Zeitalter Abrahams*, in 'Der Alte Orient,' xxix, 1, p. 53 f; and Z.D.P.V., 1928, p. 13 f.

² Cf. *Inter alia* Speiser, *op. cit.* 'Ann. A.S.O.R.' xiii, p. 44.

³ Genesis xxxi, 19, 30 ff. E.

and Hagar¹ falls within the provisions of one of the marriage contracts (embodied also in Ham-murabi's Code), to the effect that if the wife fails to bear children to her husband, she is to provide a concubine from among her servants; and she is enjoined to treat humanely the eventual offspring of that union. A third analogy, illuminating the story of Esau and Jacob,² is found in a legal arrangement as to the disposition of birthright. The eldest son was entitled to a double share, unless some contract intervened. These examples are sufficient to show that not only in outline but in numerous convincing matters of detail these early patriarchal legends reflect the social customs of their time and place.

The second patriarchal period begins with the descent of Joseph, a younger son of Jacob, to Egypt,³ his rise from an humble status to become the right hand of the Pharaoh, followed by the migration and hospitable reception in the land of Goshen of the whole clan of which he was a member. This period reflects in time and circumstance the Hyksos domination of Egypt, when foreign rulers established themselves at Tanis in the eastern Delta. The cities of Canaan prospered at this time, and it is clear from this fact and certain archæological indications, that the Canaanites were on good relations with the Hyksos if they did not actually participate in their movement. Further details of this period are wanting, but we know that it lasted three or more generations, during

Hyksos
period.

¹ Genesis xvi, J. ; xxi, 9 ff. E.

² *Ibid.*, xxvii, J.

³ *Ibid.*, xxxix-xlvii, 12.

which most members of the clan remained shepherds like their ancestors. It closed with the accession of a "Pharaoh who knew not Joseph,"¹ followed by a complete change of the friendly attitude towards these Syrian migrants; and it is a matter of history that about 1580 B.C. the Theban rulers reasserted their sovereignty, drove back the Hyksos into Palestine, and followed up their emancipation by a series of campaigns and a policy of aggression.

This change in the fortunes of the clan of Jacob—now called the Israelites—introduces a third phase in the narrative of their adventures, which may appropriately be considered with the others. The early chapters of the Book of Exodus² tell the story of their oppression under the new rulers, of being put to task-work, until at last Moses appears as the instrument of their God, secures their release from bondage and effects their escape. This series of major episodes may now be epitomized for ready comparison with their historical setting:

- | | |
|---|---|
| (i) Patriarchs maintain relations with Mesopotamia for 200 years. | Dynasty of Hammurabi. |
| (ii) Joseph rises to power in Egypt, and the Jacob clan migrates thither from Palestine. | Hyksos period. |
| (iii) Israelites oppressed and ultimately escape beyond the reach of Egyptian power into the land of Midian in N.W. Arabia. | Early XVIIIth dynasty. Theban kings expel the Hyksos and regain control of Palestine, including modern Sinai. |

Looking at these three successive groups of episodes, we see that they correspond with three great historical epochs, and reflect the ebb and flow of

¹ Exodus i, 8, J.

² Exodus i, 8-xv, 21.

political ascendancy so completely as to clear the records from all question of fabrication, indeed to give them added value. We can thus examine their broader issues with more confidence.

The dispersal of the Hebrew race, in particular the Abrahamic stock, throughout greater Palestine is one aspect of the legends which can now be usefully taken into account. The seed of Abraham, by various named alliances, is said to have peopled most of Palestine and Trans-Jordan. His "nephew" Lot had sojourned in the Jordan valley; Moab and Ammon were his blood descendants,¹ and it is independently established that the language of Moab in a later age was certainly a form of Hebrew. Edom was the habitation of Esau, the grandson of Abraham, blood brother of Jacob-Israel; he was a hunter and espoused Hittite wives.² Midian, further to the south, was of nearer kinship on the male side, being a "son of Abraham" by Keturah: other descendants of the same "mother" are more clearly Arabian, e.g. Sheba and Dedan;³ indeed an Arabian tribe called Qatura has been located near Mecca, according to certain Arab writers. Some Arab tribes therefore enter into the Israelite horizon as distant relatives. The northern part of the Sinaitic peninsula was peopled by Ishmael,⁴ another "hand-maid" tribe, descended from Abraham by Hagar,

¹ Genesis xiii, 11, J.; xix, 37, 38, J.

² *Ibid.*, xxv, 27, 30, J.; xxvi, 34, P.

³ *Ibid.*, xxv, 2, 3, J.

⁴ Cheyne suggests that Ishmael as a people was older than Israel, and apparently comprised also twelve tribes. See his *Traditions and Beliefs of Ancient Israel*, pp. 353-355.

an Egyptian; and Ishmael also is said to have taken an Egyptian wife.¹

While the strictly ethnical value of these legends remains problematical, certain general inferences are justifiable. These memories clearly recall the original wanderings of a nomadic Aramæan family, in which Abraham was the leading figure and became the legendary progenitor of the main clan of Jacob as well as of its numerous branches. These latter established themselves in and around the borders of Palestine and north-western Arabia, where they intermarried with other peoples. Such offshoots are distinguished by mother names, which mostly represent their environment, and possibly reflect an indigenous matriarchal background. The main stock, however, in particular the Israelite nucleus, derived their origins emphatically through the male side, represented as a line of successive patriarchs. Their maternal ancestors were brides of pure blood, in contrast to the lowly status attributed to those of other tribes and branches.² It is to be noted also that the whole of Syria and Palestine was largely peopled by branches of the Hebrew race, of which the patriarchal group was one; so that among these peoples we may expect to find a certain fundamental likeness in language, customs and religion, however modified by local circumstance and contact.

The penultimate stage of the Israelites' nomadic life was passed, according to their records, upon the eastern Egyptian border; and it may be calculated from late tradition to have lasted some 430

¹ Genesis xxi, 21 J.

² Cf. Genesis xxx, 6, 8, 11, 13, etc.

years,¹ a longer period than that of the patriarchal movements. By contrast the record of this sojourn is relatively meagre, and we are left not only with a very incomplete picture of their life, but with poor light upon one important aspect of our problem, namely, the possible effect of this long contact with Egypt upon their social and religious practices as well as upon their racial stock. As to the main fact, there is no cause for doubt. The presence of Bedouin upon the borders of Egypt enjoying hospitality in times of drought was not in itself unusual, and there are several later references to the practice in the Egyptian records.² That the Israelites established themselves in those favoured grazing lands during the Hyksos regime seems circumstantially probable; and it may be taken for granted that so long as

¹ "If we take the Biblical scheme of computation as it stands, and add 480 years to 967 B.C. (which is fixed with approximate certainty for the fourth year of Solomon) in accordance with the statement of 1 Kings vi, 1 (Rp), we obtain 1447 B.C. (in the reign of Amenhetep II) as the date of the Exodus; then add 430 years for Israel's residence in Egypt (*cf.* Exodus xii. 40, P) and obtain 1877 B.C. for the entry into Egypt; then add 215 years for the patriarchal period (according to Genesis xii, 4; xxi, 5; xxv, 26; xlvii, 9; all P) and obtain 2092 B.C. for Abraham's departure from Harran; this last date falls within the reign of Hammurabi (c. 2123-2081 B.C.) in accordance with the tradition of Genesis xiv." This almost prophetic *résumé* from Burney, *Israel's Settlement in Canaan*, p. 90, was regarded by its author at the time (1918) as "certainly remarkable." Its basic probability is now established by the demonstration of the date of the fall of Jericho, in the reign of Amenhetep III, c. 1400 B.C. The conclusion was foreseen by Hommel, *Expos. Times*, x, 1899, pp. 210 ff; and was subsequently supported materially by Jack, *The Date of the Exodus*, 1925. See further, *Joshua: Judges*, p. 51 ff.

² *Cf.* Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 447. *Anc. Rec.*, iii, pp. 636-8.

that regime lasted most of them remained pastoral like their ancestors and retained their nomadic customs.

At this point a radical difficulty must be faced. Computation indicates a gap between the age of Joseph and that of Moses, a period of more than 200 years ; and the fundamental question arises as to the real continuity of these traditions. Can the claim of a direct descent through the male line from Jacob and so from Abraham be substantiated ? To this there is no independent answer ; but the fact that most of the Israelites remained shepherds and lived as semi-nomads helps to dispel the doubt. Among desert peoples matters of lineage and ancestral memories take pride of place. Every well-bred nomad knows from childhood his family record, and it is considered disgraceful to make a mistake upon this subject. So long as there can be traced a clear continuity in their pastoral tradition, the claim cannot well be challenged. But even after the Pharaohs regained

**Pastoral
tradition
maintained.**

their authority, in the days of Israel's oppression, when parties were compelled to do task-work and doubtless many were drafted into the interior to become absorbed in the Egyptian population, the indications are still clear that the nucleus of the clan clung to their tent-life and pastoral habits.

Apart from the allusion to their flocks and herds¹ and other suggestive details at the time of the Exodus, the fact that the Israelites retained their very ancient pastoral songs and later incorporated them in their literature betokens an unbroken life tradition in this respect. The Song of Lamech,² to

¹ Exodus xii, 38, J.

² Genesis iv, 23, 24, J ; *cf. also* Genesis ix, 27, J.

be found in the fourth chapter of Genesis, is a true song of the desert, and it embodies features of Bedouin law. The Song of the Well, in the Book of Numbers,¹ breathes the same air, though possibly not claiming the same antiquity. The difference between these and some of the songs attributed to David and Solomon is obvious even in their translated form, though the latter embody numerous allusions to the nation's period of infancy, like the simile of the "Tents of Kedar" (in the Song of Songs, i. 5) as being comparable in colour with the sunburnt skin of the Shulamite woman.

More telling and more definite are the numerous instances of words and phrases surviving from nomadic into historic times to connote a changed type of object. Thus the Hebrew word for bag (the goat-skin) means also jug. "To go home" was expressed by words meaning "to go to one's tent"; while "to set out" on a journey was "to pull up the tent pegs." "Death" in the Book of Job, is "the breaking of the tent ropes." With some peoples, the Egyptians for example, the deserts were the haunts of evil spirits and were regarded with awe, still present among the border villages; but for the Israelites the deserts had no terrors, though relatively near: the appeal of nomad life endured long after their settlement in town and village. The simile of the wild ass let loose, in the Book of Job,² breathes this spirit:

*To whom I give the desert for a house
And the salt land for a dwelling place
He scorneth the tumult of the city
The cries of the driver he hears not.
He scours the mountain for pasture.*

¹ Numbers xxi, 17, 18, J E.

² Job xxxix, 5-8.

Such survivals and pastoral memories argue a long and continuous tradition. It may then be taken for granted that the Israelites, though probably greatly reduced in numbers and but a remnant of the prosperous clan of Hyksos days, were lineally descended from the Patriarchs, and survived the period of oppression with an unbroken oral tradition on that subject.

Other questions arise from these considerations : what of their race and numbers, their social and religious practices ? Did the Egyptian influence

leave an indelible impress upon these **Social effects of Egyptian contact.** also ? Let us deal first with the probable effect upon their racial stock. As far as

the great mass of the people is concerned their records are almost silent. Joseph himself is said to have married an Egyptian wife,¹ so that the "tribes" of Ephraim and Manasseh presumably contained a noticeable Egyptian element. Certainly the original clan was too small to admit of much intermarriage among its numbers. Pastoral people know the consequences of continuous in-breeding, and it may be presumed from what is said as to the movements and settling of other branches of the same Aramæan family,² that the Israelites during their sojourn on the Egyptian border were

Race. able to maintain relations with kindred tribal elements wherein to seek their wives. The marriage of Moses to a Midianitess³ illustrates aptly this possibility, while preserving

¹ Genesis xli, 45, E.

² Above, p. 149.

³ Exodus ii, 21 J.

the purity of the Abrahamic stock, for Midian, we have noticed, was a son of Abraham.¹ Other details in the scanty narrative, such as the allusion to the Hebrew midwives, also suggest that the Israelites succeeded in retaining their racial exclusiveness to a marked degree. The Hebrew stock has admittedly a dominating virility. None the less, the circumstances suggest, and the records indicate, a considerable infiltration of Egyptian blood through the female side. As for their numbers at this stage,

Numbers. it has been demonstrated that the figures as handed down in their writings are out of all proportion to the reality of their situation. The recorded 600 "thousands" plausibly represents 600 clan contingents.² In any case they cannot well have numbered more than 1,500 or 2,000 people at the time when they crossed the deserts and found refuge beyond the gulf of Akaba. This small number represents only a depleted clan in which the descendants of Joseph formed the leading element.

Though the Israelites may thus have succeeded in preserving their exclusiveness and their traditions, in face of the Egyptian pressure, it may be supposed

Language. that centuries of close contact cannot but have left an indelible impression upon their thought and speech. As regards the latter, philologists have pointed out numerous

¹ By "Keturah," an Arabian name. See above, p. 149.

² Cf. Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, pp. 207-217; McNeile, *Numbers*, C.B., p. 7. The question is reviewed by Albright in J.P.O.S. vol. i, p. 21. See also *Joshua: Judges*, p. 120 and below, p. 183. But cf. Cook, *P.E.F.*, Q.S. 1932, p. 90, n. 6.

significant elements in the Hebrew writings, some of which may have been assimilated during this period; and it is obvious without discussion that an increasing proportion of Egyptian words must have crept into the vocabulary of daily life. That their culture, and indeed their stock, survived at all must be attributed largely to their nomadic habits, which called them to pass their days in relative isolation.

What, now, was the effect of the Egyptian contact upon the religion of the Israelites, which, a generation later, as we recognized at the outset of this brief survey, became their inspiration?

Religion. Was Yahweh, their God, an Egyptian deity? and to what extent were features of this cult or the underlying monotheistic ideal based upon ideas current in Egypt at this time? Can any other religious or social practices traceable in their early records be attributed to this source?

Notwithstanding much division of opinion among earlier students of the Bible upon these points, the progress of research makes it increasingly probable that the worship of a moon-god was, from the beginning, a leading feature of the patriarchal religion. Some scholars, indeed, the late Canon Burney in particular, have argued from their rendering of certain theophoric names, that a moon-god, Yaw,¹ is to be recognized among the divinities of Babylonia, where, however, the paramount moon-god of Ur was known by the name of Sîn.

¹ E.g., *Ya-wa-erah*, Yawa is the moon. Cf. Burney, *Judges*, pp. 245 ff.; also in *Journ. Theol. Stud.*, 1908, p. 344. So also *Ya-u-um-ilu*, "Yau is god," to which Sayce called attention in the *Expos. Times*, ix, p. 522; and *Ya-we-ilu*, explained as "Yahweh is God" by Delitzsch, *Babel und Bibel*, p. 46 f.

Sîn, the
moon-god of
Abraham.

The moon-god Sîn was also worshipped at Harran, whither "Terah," the "father" of Abraham, is said to have migrated from Ur. It seems probable that some part of this tradition is reflected in the tablets discovered at Ras Shamra which have now been tentatively interpreted.¹ Thus :

"Terah caused the new moon to rise,
He drove away Shîn,"

It seems to be quite clear from these new documents that the Abrahamic family knew the moon-god by the name of Sîn ; indeed, if this reading is correct, it is the "wife" of Terah who is here called Shîn (the difference between S and Sh being a matter of dialect),² while certain theophoric names among the Biblical family tend to bear out the suggestion. Thus, "Sarah" is held to be the equivalent of the Babylonian "Saratu," a title of the goddess-consort of Sîn.

Though the moon-god of Abraham was evidently known in Mesopotamia as Sîn, this name does not seem to have survived the further migration into Canaan, and there is little trace of it in Biblical tradition.³ Moreover, as will be seen below, there is reason to believe that, among the pastoral peoples of

¹ Dussaud, *Rev. de l'Hist. des Relig.*, 1933, pp. 33-4 ; Virolleaud, *Syria*, xiv, p. 149.

² Cf. Judges xii, 6, J.

³ References to the Wilderness of Sin, and Sinai for Horeb as the Mount of God, even if derived from the name of the Babylonian moon-god, as suggested by Winckler but doubted by Cheyne (*Traditions and Beliefs*, p. 26), may be presumed to have replaced an earlier Arabic name of similar significance. Cf. Langdon, *Semitic Mythology*, p. 6. It is important to recall that in the days of Elijah, 9th century B.C., the sacred mountain was still known as Horeb, 1 Kings xix, 9.

the south, the moon-god was known by another name. The Canaanites, as we have seen, worshipped El, a sky-god with solar attributes ;¹ and the patriarchs, when residing as semi-nomads in their country, did not fail to pay homage at his various shrines.²

There is less certainty about the origins of Yahweh worship. Even if the name *Yaw* or *Yahu*, considered by some scholars to represent the moon-god in certain Babylonian texts, could be identified with Yahweh, the various Biblical contexts which refer back the knowledge of this god to the patriarchal age seem to be inconsistent with the basic tradition of a later revelation of the ineffable name at Horeb.³ But it may be that it was only the Israelite-Hebrews who had not known him by that name, and that he

Yahweh :
the
shepherds'
god.

had for long ages been worshipped by the nomadic pastoral peoples of N.W. Arabia. Indeed, certain linguistic clues point independently to the worship of a deity *Yaho* or *Yah* somewhere in Arabia itself.⁴ The fact that Moses first adopted the name while dwelling in the land of Midian lends support to this theory ; as also does the fact that the name *Yaw* appears, like El, among the divinities in the recently deciphered early Phœnician-Hebrew texts of Ras

¹ See p. 118. Cf. Langdon, *Semitic Mythology*, p. 87.

² E.g., at Jerusalem, Genesis xiv, 18 ; at Shechem, Genesis xxxiii, 20 E ; and at Bethel, Genesis xxxv, 7 E and *ibid.*, 14 J. Cf. further, Genesis xxviii, 12 E, in connexion with which it is pointed out by Breasted, *Dawn of Conscience*, p. 109, that the simile of a ladder reaching to the sky was early adopted as a symbolical element of sun-worship : in Egypt, the original limber was, in fact, the sun-god Atum.

³ Exodus iii, 13, 14, E ; vi, 3, P.

⁴ Margoliouth, *Relations between Arabs and Israelites*, 1924, pp. 13, 20-21.

Shamra.¹ It is possible to explain the extension of the cult to northern Syria as the result of the Phœnician migration, which started traditionally from the shores of the Persian Gulf, but more probably, as has been recently pointed out,² from the eastern shores of the Red Sea.

That pastoral people should worship the moon is natural ; the sun is too fierce for desert folk, to whom he brings thirst and drought ; his powers are more appreciated by town dwellers and agriculturists.³ But the moon is beneficent and kindly ; his light dispels the terrors of darkness, bringing rest and coolness to man and beast. Consequently Arabia from the beginning has been the home of moon-worship ;⁴ and for similar reasons the cult prevailed in all the desert borders of Canaan from Palmyra to Sinai.⁵ This would be particularly the case towards the south and south-east, where life was entirely pastoral and the Arabian contact permanent.⁶ The same conclusion has been reached by several scholars who have studied this question from different standpoints.⁷

¹ Dussaud, *Rev. de l'Hist. des Relig.*, cviii, 1933, p. 36, from transcriptions by Virolleaud, *cf.* p. 144, n. 5.

² *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

³ On this subject see also the thoughtful paper by Burney, *Israelite Religion in Early Times*, 'Journ. Theol. Stud.', No. 35 (vol. ix, 1908), p. 323 f.

⁴ Langdon, *Semitic Mythology*, pp. 86-87.

⁵ Egyptian monuments of this area bear witness to moon-worship. Langdon, *op. cit.*, p. 378.

⁶ The plausible translation of *Jerahme'el*, "the moon is truly god," as proposed by Hommel and supported by Burney and others, though not generally accepted, is in complete harmony with this conclusion, for the name is associated with the Kenites and the south-eastern deserts (1 Samuel xxvii, 10). *Cf.* Cheyne, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

⁷ Burney, *Judges*, p. 251 ; Langdon, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 87.

Thus is explained the established cult of Yahweh among the Arabian Hebrews of Midian in the time of Moses, and the essentially pastoral character of the cult in its pure form as later found among the Rechabites from that area.¹

“It cannot be fortuitous that the feasts which go back to the nomad period are connected with the phases of the moon. They were the feast of the new moon and the Sabbath, which is often mentioned in the same breath with it, and which was perhaps originally the feast of the full moon. The Paschal feast also, the feast of the firstlings of the flock, a typical nomad festival, seems originally to have been a celebration in honour of the moon-god. The time of its celebration and the nature of it practically prove this: it falls on the night of the full moon of the spring month (14th Nisan), and the Paschal lamb must be eaten before daybreak.”²

It is not certain how soon Yahweh came to be conceived of as endowed with special qualities and moral attributes, notably mercy and truth; but it

Ethical qualities. may have been thus early, for Shamash, the sun-god to whom Hammurabi ascribed the giving of the Babylonian

laws, was already called the father of right and uprightness. “It is, further, a fact of no less significance, that in the time of the Egyptian king Ikhnaton, special emphasis was laid on ideas of truth, right, righteousness and justice.”³

“The system of an antique religion,” it has been

¹ Jeremiah xxxv, 6, 7.

² Bertholet, *A History of Hebrew Civilization*, pp. 134, 135.

³ Prof. S. Cook in *Camb. Anct. Hist.*, ii, 399. Cf. further, p. 400, on ethical developments in Mitanni.

aptly said,¹ "was part of the social order under which its adherents lived"; and "the word 'system' must here be taken in a practical sense, as when we speak of a political system, and not in the sense of an organized body of ideas or theological opinions. Broadly speaking, religion was made up of a series of acts and observances, the correct performance of which was necessary or desirable to secure the favour of the gods or avert their anger; and in these observances every member of the society had a share. . . . Religion did not exist for the saving of souls, but for the preservation and welfare of society." It was, however, the destiny of Yahwism to lead the world in the association of ethics with religion.

We are now better able to answer the main question asked above: Yahweh was not an Egyptian deity. We have still, however, to discover how far the development of his cult under Moses was based upon the influences of that country during the long sojourn of the Israelites upon her borders.

Even though dormant, there would survive a tradition of a beneficent moon-god, accepted by their nomadic forefathers and perhaps still vaguely worshipped by those who remained purely pastoral. This

**Egyptian
influences.**

seems, however, to have been almost entirely forgotten in the more recent claims of the sky-god, El, who had been the lord of all the land of Canaan at the time of Jacob-Israel's migration to the eastern Delta. There his solar attributes would tend to identify his powers with those of Ra, the old and powerful sun-god of Egypt,

¹ W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites* (Rev. Ed.), p. 28.

whose priests resided at On in the vicinity of Goshen. Those Israelites then who passed within the frontier, or had family relationships there, could not fail to absorb something of Egyptian ritual and thought ; and the appeal of the sun-god would certainly be felt strongly by those who settled down to cultivate the soil. In Egypt, only the sun is required to bring forth crops and fruits in abundance from the fertile earth deposited there by the yearly inundation : no rain-god or other sky-god need be invoked, for the Nile which brings the soil provides also for its irrigation.

It is clear that many looked back with longing to those days of relative luxury, when later confronted by the stern realities of life under desert conditions. "Wherefore," they cried, according to one version of their desert wanderings, "have ye made us come up out of Egypt, to bring us unto this evil place ? It is no place of seed or of figs, or of vines, or of pomegranates ; neither is there any water to drink."¹ An older passage says that the children of Israel wept and asked, "Who shall give us flesh to eat ? We remember the fish, which we did eat in Egypt for nought ; the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlick."²

In the matter of sun-worship, then, we may expect some traces of Egyptian influence ; and common ideals are reflected in the religious songs of the two peoples. But in other directions we look in vain for signs of real inspiration from the culture of Egypt. The transient but enlightened phase of monotheism which shone over Egypt under Akhenaton was still in infancy ;

¹ Numbers xx, 3, 5 ?P.

² Numbers xi, 4, 5, J.

and even though we may trace its origins partly or wholly in the new thought introduced to the court circles by three generations of alliance with the Mesopotamian princesses of Mitanni, and admit the story of Moses' reception into the royal household,¹ we still find nothing that would justify attributing the sudden development of Yahwism to an Egyptian source.

We cannot forget, however, that Moses was a learned man, trained and educated in Egypt, so that Egyptian thought may have left in his mind impressions which later found expression in various ways. Thus the prompt association by him of a moral code with the worship of Yahweh on Horeb may perhaps be explained in this way, and it will be found to contain a proportion of Egyptian precepts.

Meanwhile, more primitive cults seem to have been fostered, to be received perhaps under the circumstances with greater favour, as being more consonant with their surroundings. We do not dwell upon the purely animistic and primitive elements, upon which too much stress is usually laid, as such are common to all peoples at a certain stage of moral growth, and often survive higher conceptions. The aged tree² (or "Sheikh"), the haunted well,³ or even a peculiar stone,⁴ are familiar objects of popular reverence today throughout the

¹ Exodus ii, 10, E.

² Cf. Frazer, *Folk-lore in the O.T.*, vol. iii, pp. 30 ff.

³ Cf. T. Canaan, *Haunted Springs and Water Demons in Palestine*, reprinted from J.P.O.S., vol. i, pp. 153-170.

⁴ Cf. *inter alia*, Wainwright, *Jacob's Bethel*, in P.E.F., Q.S., 1934, p. 32.

nearer East. It is evident that trees and wells play a specially vital rôle in the life of desert peoples; and it cannot be forgotten that among the Arabs, even under Islam, the Black Stone at Mecca continues to occupy a principal place in their devotions at the central shrine of their religion.¹

At Tarsus in Cilicia the writer has seen and photographed a sacred stone, encased in a wooden coffin, preserved as an object of veneration in a local mosque; and respect for certain stones supposed to have medicinal or magical virtues, and so held sacred, is quite common among the lowlier peoples of Syria.

Two other manifestations of a more advanced order, the worship of the Serpent² and the Bull,³ which reveal themselves among the desert experi-

**The Bull
and the
Serpent.**

ences of Israel at this stage, may be thought to reflect corresponding anthropomorphic cults of Egypt. But such cults are common to all Semitic peoples, and indeed are almost universal. The Serpent symbolizes the Earth, in the bowels of which it seems to live, and so in one aspect becomes the emblem of the Earth-Mother. The Bull typifies the powers of generation, and becomes an emblem of productivity. It is true that the Nature cult, especially in its dual form, seems more appropriate to an agricultural and settled community, and as such it was well established among the societies of Western Asia, whether Hittite or Semitic. But there is a simpler aspect of these cults taken singly, as was the case with nomad Israel. The Snake is one of the dangers lurking in

+ ¹ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 59 ff.

² Numbers xxi, 9, J E.

³ Exodus xxxii, 4, E.

the nomad's path, and to be propitiated. In the writer's experience, on the desert borders of Egypt to the west of Esna in 1906, two cobras that had established themselves in an ancient tomb completely terrorized the local village. They were regarded as invulnerable, and bowls of milk were placed outside house doors at night to satisfy their needs. When finally the reptiles were shot, the news was received with incredulity.¹ It is clearly in this sense that the Snake is generally worshipped under primitive conditions.

The Bull also may be regarded as an emblem of virility and power without special reference to the more elaborate myth of the nature goddess. In Egypt the Pharaoh was likened to the Bull in this sense ; and the animal had long before secured a sacred rank, perhaps a relic of tribal totemism. It is possible, then, that the exaltation of the Golden Calf at Horeb was based on this Egyptian conception. A different explanation is, however, more probable. For all through Western Asia, among Hittites² as well as Semites, the Bull, often represented as a bull-calf, was at this time an accepted emblem of the storm- and sky-gods, as well as of the Sun ; and Egyptian symbolism adopts the same idea. The setting up of the "Golden Calf" by the Israelites at Horeb will then bear witness to their persistent belief in the solar sky-god El, whose worship would be usually accompanied by singing and dancing. Of special interest from the standpoint of folk-lore was the

* ¹ Frazer, *op cit.*, i, pp. 50, 66, shows how snakes may be regarded as immortal because they cast (or renew) their skins. On their healing capacities, see also vol. ii, pp. 47, 50.

² Cf. *The Hittite Empire*, Plate xxxviii and Fig. 8, p. 134.

drinking of the powdered gold of the god as a purification, or to remove the curse.¹

Two other less obvious traces of primitive religion among the Israelites should be considered at this stage, because, if established, they must refer to

very early conditions, though the evidence concerning them is relatively late, namely, Totemism and Ancestor Worship.

Question of Totemism.

Animal names were frequently used among the Israelites as names of people; and quite a number of them would be specially familiar to pastoral people, e.g., Ewe (Rachel), Wild Cow (Leah), Calf (Eglah), Dog (Caleb), Gazelle (Zibiah), Hawk (Aiah), etc., while others reflect the conditions of the desert border, e.g., Boar (Hazir), Fox (Shual), Wolf-Hyena (Simeon). Others again tell rather of settled life, e.g., the Bee (Deborah), Fish (Nun), Dove (Jonah). Of these names, taken more or less at random, Rachel, Leah, Caleb, and Simeon are among the oldest. The first two refer back to the patriarchal age; but the last two are tribal or group-names and may thus in theory have had a Totemistic origin, especially as both animals were, of course, included in the priestly lists of proscribed flesh-food. But the occurrence of two animal names among a group of twelve or more is indeed a low average, and may have been purely fortuitous. Indeed, Burckhardt says² that Arab boys were sometimes called Caleb merely because a dog happened to be near at the birth. Moreover, none of the major tribes have animal names, nor is there any definite reminiscence of totemism in their sacrificial customs.

¹ Exodus xxxii, 20, E.

² *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahdbyys*, i, p. 97.

There is, in fact, no trace of any form of real Totemism, i.e., belief in blood kinship with an animal deity, in the religion of the Israelites at any visible stage of their development.

Worship of the Dead, and the associated worship of ancestors, were not so developed among the Israelites as to constitute a conscious religious practice. A definite respect for the dead

The Dead. is seen in later times in the tonsure, rending of garments, funeral feasts, and the bare-footed bearers; but such practices are common among peoples of an advanced ethical standard, among whom they no longer tell of primitive religious belief. There survives, for instance, no trace of an appeal to the dead for aid or intervention,—if we except the curious story of the raising of Samuel, which really falls outside this class.¹ The funerals of the patriarchs, of Joseph, Moses, and Joshua, are described, and while illustrating an established custom, they conform with current practice both in Canaan and in Egypt. In both these countries burial caves were prepared and maintained; and furniture, including foodstuffs, was placed with the dead. Many groups of Bedouin, on the contrary, are negligent of their dead, and practically expose them to be eaten by dogs or vultures. In this respect the Israelites seem to have profited from their association with Egypt, for embalming, as in the case of the body of Jacob,² was a purely Egyptian custom. Moreover, during their desert wanderings, they refer to the graves of Egypt in terms which show that they preferred them to the desert-grave.³

¹ Frazer, *Folk-lore in the O.T.*, ii, p. 519.

² Genesis i, 2, J.

³ Exodus xiv, 11, J.

In this matter, then, the nomadic background had become obscured by the new environment.

Again, though their traditions reveal clearly their high respect for their forefathers and the natural sequel of a special keenness about male progeny, there is little or no trace of actual appeal to the spirits of their ancestors, only that pride of ancestral memory which is common to most nomad peoples, replacing in their lives and conversation the town-dweller's delight in his house. The levirate marriage,¹ by which, as in the case of Ruth and Boaz, the next of kin espouses a widow to keep alive his dead brother's, or relative's, name, is not necessarily associated with ancestor worship, as sometimes claimed. It was expressly enjoined, for example, in the Hittite civil code. Summing up, we find that among the Israelites in their original and secondary nomadic stage, there is no trace of practices connected with their ancestors or their dead, such as would indicate a conscious element in their religion.

It results from these considerations that the sudden development of Yahwism among the Israelites, the change from a passive worship to an active faith in a helpful and powerful God, took place between the time of oppression on the Egyptian border and their arrival before Jericho: we find the occasion described in the Book of Exodus.² It followed on the personal experience of Moses in the land of Midian.³ This tract of Arabia, according to early geographers, lay to the east of the Gulf of Akabah, and had been peopled, as we have seen,⁴ by

¹ On this subject in general, see Frazer, *Folk-lore in the O.T.*, ii, p. 263 ff.

² Exodus xviii, 5, E-xix, 25, J.

³ Exodus ii, 15-iv, 19, E and J.

⁴ Above, p. 149.

the Midianites, a main branch of the Abrahamic family, including the Kenizzites, Kenites and later Rechabites, all of whom worshipped Yahweh. There was an established priest, or priest law-giver into whose house Moses had married when he fled from Egypt.¹ At some distance "behind the wilderness" rose Mt. Horeb, a sacred mountain called the "Mount of God" (Elohim). From the descriptions given of the manifestations at the time of Israel's visit, there can be no doubt but that Horeb was a volcano liable to occasional eruption; and a mountain of this character, now extinct, has been located in the area indicated by the explorer Musil, and was found by him to harbour significant traditions.²

When Moses, leading the flocks of his father-in-law, visited Mt. Horeb in solitude,³ profound thoughts would fill his mind. The pastoral deity worshipped by the Arabian Hebrews of the locality under the name of Yahweh, whose presence occasionally animated the slumbering mountain, was not merely a local god, but was essentially the same as the benign moon-god of Israel's ancestors, the veritable God of the Hebrews. Seeing unexplained fire coming as a flame from the midst of a bush, and issuing no doubt from a large vent in the side of the volcano,⁴ he became impressed with the majesty and power of its Creator. Supernatural sounds seemed like the voice of Yahweh

¹ Exodus ii, 15-21, J. For the latest views on the religion of Midian, cf. Lods, *Israel*, pp. 317 ff.; Oesterley & Robinson, *Hebr. Relig.*, 2nd ed., p. 111 ff. See further below, p. 217.

² Musil, *Northern Hejaz*, pp. 215 ff. The mountain is called El Bedr. For a vivid description of the Mountain, the wilderness and the volcanic phenomena of the Exodus, see Phythian-Adams, *The Call of Israel*, pp. 209 ff. ³ Exodus iii, 1, E.

⁴ Cf. Phythian-Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 144 n.

speaking to him, urging him to return, and, thus strengthened, to deliver the Israelites from the yoke of Egypt and bring them to this place. An eruption was evidently imminent, and played the leading part in accomplishing the plan. Seismic phenomena and their wide-spread consequences may be held to explain largely both the traditional circumstances of Israel's escape, and the disaster to the Pharaoh's pursuing force. In the minds of the simple shepherd folk, Yahweh, hitherto little more than an ancestral memory, became exalted at once to a leading place among the greatest gods, more powerful evidently than those of Egypt. He became the Lord Saba'oth, their god of battles,¹ with proved command of fire, and flood, and storm, endowed, in short, with the powers more appropriately attributed to El, the solar sky-deity.

The Lord is a man of war,

Yahweh is His name. . . .

Thy right hand, O Lord, dasheth in pieces the enemy, .
And with the blast of Thy nostrils the waters are
piled up.

Who is like unto Thee, Lord, among the gods ?

[Exodus xv, 3-11, J.]

At the same time the words ascribed in the narrative to Moses suggest that he lost no opportunity of instilling into his followers a conception of moral qualities as divine attributes. It is true that the final form of this poem is conceivably later, but there is no reason to reject its early origins.

¹ *Lit.* 'lord of hosts or armies,' the attribute elsewhere of Ishtar or Astarte, who in Canaan was already largely absorbed by the all-powerful El. Cf. Cheyne, *Traditions and Beliefs*, p. 17 ; Barton, *Jour. Bibl. Lit.*, x, p. 73.

Who is like Thee, glorious in holiness. . . ? (xv, 11).

Thou, in Thy mercy, hast led the people . . . (13).

Whatever may be said about the anachronism of this passage, it is fully accordant with the character of Moses, with his Abrahamic tradition and Egyptian learning, to attribute qualities of holiness and mercy to his God in the hour of triumph.¹

The impressions of Yahweh's powers created in the minds of the escaping Israelites proved but a prelude to their ultimate experiences. The volcano of Horeb had evidently become active. A pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night guided their unforgettable journey, until finally they came to the wilderness of Midian, where they encamped by the Mount of God. They were welcomed by the priest, with burnt offerings and sacrifices ; and the leaders of Israel participated in the sacred feast.²

The culminating episode in the record, described in chap. xix of the Book of Exodus, was the terrifying experience of being brought face to face with a volcano in eruption. " 16. There were
Yahweh speaks to Moses. " thunders and lightnings, and a thick
 " cloud upon the mount, and the voice
 " of a trumpet exceeding loud ; and all the people
 " that were there in the camp trembled. 17. And
 " Moses brought forth the people out of the camp
 " to meet God ; and they stood in the nether part
 " of the mount. 18. And the mountain . . . was
 " altogether as smoke because Yahweh descended on
 " it in fire, and the smoke thereof ascended as the
 " smoke of a furnace, and the whole mount quaked

¹ Cf. Genesis xix, 16, 19, J.

² Exodus xviii, 12, E.

“greatly. 19. And when the voice of the trumpet “waxed louder and louder, Moses spake, and “Yahweh answered him by a voice. 20. And “Yahweh came down . . . to the top of the “mount. 21. And . . . said unto Moses, Go “down, charge the people, lest they break through “ . . . to gaze and many of them perish. “23. And Moses said: The people cannot come “up . . . for thou didst charge us saying, Set “bounds about the mount and sanctify it.”

Nothing could be clearer to us now, in the light of travellers' experiences, than the explanation of this graphic narrative. Moses, already convinced by his previous impressions, that the mountain was a veritable seat of Yahweh, and doubtless supported in this belief by the tenets of the local cult, had led the Israelites thither at a time filled with portent, followed by a volcanic manifestation. It requires little imagination to realize the awe-inspiring effect upon the desert wanderers, with their long tradition of peaceful pastoral conditions. Their God was indeed terrible and powerful beyond conception. He moved in fire; thunder and lightning announced His approach; when He descended upon the mountain it became “altogether as smoke” and the mount quaked greatly. Trumpetings, louder and louder, heralded His voice.

. Those who have witnessed from close quarters the majestic phenomena of a volcano in eruption are all agreed about the sensation of physical terror induced by the spectacle. It created on the Israelites an impression never to be effaced. It is recorded¹ that

¹ Exodus xx, 19, 21, E.

they said unto Moses, "Speak thou with us and "we will hear: but let not God speak with us lest "we die." "And while the people stood afar off "Moses drew near unto the thick darkness where "God was."

All that happened to this point can be understood and explained by us now in the light of knowledge and experience; but the enduring wonder, the climax that removes the episode from the realm of terrestrial phenomena is found in the sequel. After long communings, Yahweh was revealed unto Moses as a God "full of compassion and gracious, slow to anger and plenteous in mercy and truth . . . forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin . . . while not exonerating the guilty" (xxxiv, 6 and 7). Implicit acceptance of the principle that no other God should be worshipped, revived the prospect of an ultimate settlement in the Holy Land, with the discomfiture of its existing inhabitants. Yet Moses descended from the mountain, not with plans for a holy war, such as might have rallied to him all the neighbouring tribes and threatened even the supremacy of Egypt, but with the Ten Commandments (xxxiv, 28, J.), the digest of a moral and civil code, associated for the first time with the exclusive worship of a single god:—

1. I am Yahweh thy God, thou shalt have no other gods.
2. Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image.
3. Thou shalt not take the name of Yahweh thy God in vain.
4. Remember the sabbath day to keep it holy.
5. Honour thy father and thy mother.

6. Thou shalt do no murder.
7. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
8. Thou shalt not steal.
9. Thou shalt not bear false witness.
10. Thou shalt not covet.

[Exodus xx, 1-17, E.]

To-day we are able to assert that these precepts were not new ; that the third and the last four are in principle the same as certain formulæ of the so-called Negative Confession in the **Egyptian element in the Decalogue.** Book of the Dead,¹ and so must have been familiar to Moses. Moreover, the tendency towards henotheism, which we have already seen to be spreading on every side (Ch. III), prepares us also for the first, and it is just possible that the thoughts which inspired the monotheism of Akhenaton were already filtering through the learned world. Moreover, many of these precepts find a ready parallel, as we shall see, in the older established code of Hammurabi. All this may be so, but the fact remains that the Idea of God which Moses presented to the Israelites was new ; this association of worship with morals, combined with the conception of rules of society as divine ordinances, marks a definite epoch in the history of religions.

We are now able to appreciate how this special factor in Israel's development changed the erstwhile group of shepherds into the purposeful and religious

¹ Cf. Breasted, *Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, p. 302 ; Burney, *Israelite Religion in Early Times*, Journ. Theol. Stud., 1908, pp. 350-1. It is noteworthy that the Negative Confession in Egyptian Mythology is made before a divine assembly presided over by a solar deity, and that the Ten Commandments are attributed to E, the Elohist source.

clan which entered Palestine under Joshua a generation later.

There is one aspect of this great revival which will prove of continued interest as we trace the social and religious development of Israel in Palestine, namely;

**Yahweh
assimilated
to El,
a solar
deity.**

the assimilation of the leading solar deity of the agriculturists with Yahweh, the shepherds' guardian.¹ This act of syncretism seems to have accompanied the manifestation on Mount Horeb ; at any rate, that undying episode marks the occasion when Yahweh was first invested with the attributes of a sky-god,² commanding Storm, Fire and Thunder, and finally was worshipped with the rites of a solar deity. By this fusion of attributes, the assimilation of Yahweh with El became an accomplished fact. Through all time, the religious archivists of the northern kingdom of Ephraim (later Israel) preferred Elohim, a plural form of El, as the name of their God ; while the southern tribes, Judah in particular, used Yahweh. We may therefore expect to find that Yahweh, though now their common God, would be worshipped in the north with solar rites and ritual from the older Canaanite cult of El ; while in the south, where the tribes claimed largely pastoral Hebrew ancestry, a simpler and more purist form of the original lunar worship would prevail. This is found to have been the case ; and between these two main branches of the Israelite confederation in later

¹ Above, p. 159. The Arabian deity Ilāh or Il seems also to have acquired lunar attributes. Langdon, *Semitic Mythology*, p. 5, f. So also in the Sabæan pantheon *El* or *Il* is used of the moon-god Ilmuqah. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

² Note that Yahweh came *down* to the *top* of the mount: Exodus xix, 20, J.

times, between, that is, the Elohist and the Yahwists, there remained all through their history a constant element of friction and ultimate schism. If we read this narrative rightly, we find the struggle beginning already in the festival and subsequent rebellion at the foot of Mt. Horeb.¹

There would be among that gathering some who, like the Ephraimites,² were descended from Egyptian mothers, and had perhaps lived on the outskirts of On and other cities in closer connexion with agricultural interests than the purely pastoral members of the clan. It seems as though they may have objected to the innovations introduced by Moses, and preferred the Elohist rites and symbolism, including the calf and dancing,³ to the newly-established cult, and succeeded in voicing their protest during the absence of Moses. "And when Aaron saw this, he built an altar" before the calf, and "made proclamation and said, To-morrow shall be a feast to Yahweh," so completing the process of syncretism.

It is perhaps not without significance that, after the disturbances, the tables containing the Elohist code were destroyed by Moses, and fresh ones prepared, devoted this time to a Yahwist code, in a simple pastoral form. The more we study the J and E documents in this light, down to the time of the prophets, the more clearly do we see in this original distinction the germ of discord which marred the complete unity of Israel; and find the explanation of much that is difficult in the story of their religious and political expansion. It may be noted, in par-

¹ Exodus xxxii, 17 ff., E.

² Genesis xli, 45, 50-52.

³ Exodus xxxii, 1-6.

ticular, that when the schism between north and south became an open rupture after the death of Solomon, the north reacted in favour of the solar element in the cult, as seen in the setting up by Jeroboam of Bull-shrines at Bethel and at Dan, though still associated with lunar festivals.¹

Now they set forward from the Mount of Yahweh three days' journey ; and the Ark of the Covenant of Yahweh went before them² . . . to seek out a resting place for them. Numb. x, 33, J E.

The next stage of Israelite development took place apparently at Kadesh, where they sojourned for a full generation before entering Palestine.³ This period was one of preparation, and of obvious importance in their social history. The people's life was still pastoral, by force, for whether Kadesh is to be located at Petra, as seems credible, or at "Ain Kedeis" (which now does not satisfy the conditions), the place was in either case only capable of supporting a very small settled community ; so that the great majority of the Israelites at any rate would have to continue their Bedouin life and habits. Under such conditions it is probable that they would also raise a rain-crop of corn, as do most Bedouin whose pastures are sufficiently centralized.⁴

Their social organization and their outlook must, however, have undergone considerable modification. Though in general, throughout their history, their

¹ 1 Kings xii, 28-32. Kedesh Naphtali also was a centre of sun-worship (below p. 251).

² Cf. below p. 359.

³ Deut. i, 19, 35 ff.

⁴ Note that the first fruits of the wheat harvest are included in the offerings enjoined by the J. Code (Exodus xxxiv, 22, J).

Israel
organizes on
a theocratic
basis.

religious leaders appear far ahead, leading a somewhat apathetic and errant flock, it may be taken for granted that at this stage, fresh from their experiences at Horeb, the people were still animated by religious fervour, and ready if need be to exchange the freedom of the deserts for the service of God. In antiquity religion was a real and practical necessity, and with the Israelites at this stage it had become a matter of life and death. They had embarked on this journey on the definite assurance of Yahweh's special help—and he had proved himself supreme—so long as they worshipped him only. They needed his support at each moment for their families, for their flocks and their young, for the supply of water, for the crops they had sown, for victory against restless or jealous neighbours. Even the leaders' immediate concerns were practical: they were blissfully ignorant of the fact that they were instituting a new religion that was to leave its impress on the cultured world for 3,000 years. Their task was to assure the service of One God, from themselves and from each responsible member of the growing clan on all occasions, to the exclusion of all other forms of worship that may have become customary.

To this end a central shrine was necessary, with a permanent staff of servants to ensure the proper fulfilment of sacrifice and observance of rites, in short, a priesthood. Their spiritual leader, Moses, had already been tacitly accepted as their head and chief, so that there were assembled the elements of a theocratic society, which gradually took shape. The settlement of disputes, explanation of the customary law, and of the changing religious law,

punishment of offences, civil and religious, involved Moses personally at first in a daily sitting from which there was no respite, and necessitated the appointment of elders to relieve him and fulfil the judicial functions.¹ A centralized authority thus began to replace the federation of family heads under a selected chief which usually characterizes Bedoui society, and this step involved other changes.

The haphazard war-time arrangement which relies upon the rally of each chieftain with his quatum, gave place to a more permanent system in which the fighting strength was numbered and placed under the control of pre-appointed officers, with various grades of authority.

The record states that the organization included captains of fifties, of hundreds and of thousands²; but obviously a war establishment of this formal character would not evolve at once. Nevertheless, the experience of the Israelites on and near the organized military frontier of Egypt, and the familiar sight of the Pharaoh's moving troops, to which no doubt they would occasionally have to supply provisions, had

¹ Mr. H. St. J. B. Philby, in his book on *The Heart of Arabia*, describes, on p. 297, some features of the modern Wahábi organization, with which he was personally familiar. The instruction and religious organization of the country were entrusted to a body of 'Ulama (or Vicars), some 20 or more in number. They were responsible also for the administration of the *Shar'* law, and their decisions were binding on the provincial Amirs [the fighting chiefs]. Under their direction also was a body of Mutawwa'in (or Deacons), responsible for the religious instruction of the Bedouin, amongst whom they were distributed apparently in the proportion of one to every fifty men. The central authority consisted of the descendants of the founder of the Sect, who were bound to the great chief (Ibn Sa'ud himself) by marriage ties, and constituted a state hierarchy with ecclesiastical functions practically independent of all control.

² Exod. xviii, 25 E. Numb. xxxi, 14 P. Deut. i, 15.

familiarized them with the idea and even the terms of military organization ; so that we cannot dismiss the possibility of some ordered scheme, however small the scale. One who has seen a Wahábi host setting out on a campaign in the heart of Arabia¹ tells how the leader and his bodyguard moved first through the camp, his green standard at the head, followed by company after company wheeling into position behind it, each behind its own banner. By way of illustration he quotes from the Book of Numbers (x, 14-28, P.) how the tribes of Israel defiled, and describes how the scene, with little changed except the names of the contingents, recalled the O.T. narrative to his thoughts as "standard after standard took its place at the head of its cohort." Five contingents moved that day—perhaps a thousand strong. As he continued to watch, the serried columns of companies soon degenerated into successive sinuous waves extended over as broad a front as the nature of the ground permitted. The Priestly text used in this comparison describes of course a ceremonial procession of a later age ; but the narrative of this eyewitness shows how the military sense may develop in a desert horde.

It is evident that the Israelites under Moses were not merely developing rapidly, but were in a state of exaltation. It is well known to what heights a human being can rise under the stimulus of love or genius or fortune : the mind expands and does big things unattainable without such inspiration. And corporate animation is reactive ; a community roused by religious fire transcends all previous limitations ; its possibilities of achievement cannot

¹ H. St. J. B. Philby, *op. cit.*, 1922, i, pp. 322-3.

be foretold. So now we may picture this little band, Bedouin still in mode of life, but animated one and all with the new Thought, the new Idea of God, the new life which lay ahead. This was indeed a period of preparation, and it was now that the genius of Moses and the grandeur of his mind rose to the full height of the mission to which he felt himself divinely called. His people were shepherds. Their customs and rules of life were largely those of the desert. To these had been added, after the experiences on Horeb, a number of new laws based on Egyptian precepts, but even so their code was far from being complete, and was no longer sufficient to regulate the civil and religious life of the community under the new conditions. Moreover, they had now left the zone of Egyptian influence and entered that of Babylon, where society had long accepted the principles if not the letter of Hammurabi's standard Code. This embodied much original desert law, and rules of life that were appropriate to their own case ; and it was probably current in some modified form in the land of Canaan. All these matters must have occupied the time and thought of Israel's leaders during these years of waiting.

CHAPTER VI.

SEMI-NOMADIC ISRAEL IN CANAAN.

1400-1200 B.C.

Numbers and characteristics : parallel of the Wahábis. War Equipment. New Code of Laws : analysis : Babylonian and Hittite elements : independent development : Bedouin elements prominent : blood-revenge, asylum, ordeal : penalties and responsibility. Judges and Justice : priesthood : organization of Israelite theocracy. Relations with the Canaanites.

ABOUT 1400 B.C., circumstances being favourable, the Israelites entered Canaan by the Jordan valley, and pitched camp at Gilgal.¹ They were on war footing, having had to force a passage through hostile areas in Trans-Jordan, and being evidently prepared to fight their way if necessary into the interior of Palestine. In this project they were only partially successful. Though two fortified cities, Jericho and Ai, were taken and destroyed, these places were isolated and relatively small. By alliance with the "Hivite" group of four cities they also succeeded in gaining a tactical victory over a combination of southern chieftains under the king of Jerusalem² ;

¹ Joshua iv, 8, J ; 20, J E ; ix, 6, J.

² For detailed study, see *Joshua: Judges*, pp. 162-182, with maps, pp. 164, 171. On the probable identity of "Hivite" with "Horite," see above, p. 27.

but they were apparently unable to retain possession of any territory, and returned to their base camp as though to await developments. These episodes indicate the limitations of their effective strength, both in numbers and in weapons. The defensive force of the Hivite towns could not have exceeded about 500 in each case; while the offensive strength of the Jebusite league, which was drawn from larger places like Jerusalem, Hebron and Lachish (but would not include all their fighting men), may be estimated at about 1,200 to 1,500. Joshua's success against the latter was partly gained by a surprise attack delivered at early dawn, so that his numbers, though reinforced by the alliance, were not necessarily much superior to those of his opponents. Everything points to a mobile force at Joshua's command of about 1,000 men.

The total number of the Israelites with their adherents, at the time of their arrival, has been already estimated at about 7,000 souls, or rather less.¹ This figure accords with our present conclusion, for the camp must have been left with a sufficient guard. Moreover, it seems to be reconcilable with the several indications in the text bearing upon the organization of the community and its fighting force. Thus in the Book of Exodus² it is recorded that Moses was advised to provide able men "to be rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties and rulers of tens," and that he did in fact choose such men and make them heads over the people. Now a formal scheme of this kind is inconsistent with the stage of Israelitish

¹ See above, p. 139.

² xviii, 21, 25, E.

development at the time, and had not in fact been effected in the days of Samuel, who evidently regarded the idea with disfavour.¹ Still we must recognize that the change from Bedouin democracy to centralized theocracy, and the circumstances of the movement, involved some form of permanent organization for war purposes, and this is borne out by the various details in the text. Thus Joshua (x, 24, J) speaks of the "Chiefs of the men of war," and in the Book of Numbers (xi, 16, E) we find that Moses was instructed to select seventy men whom he knew to be "the elders of the people and officers over them." The figure in this case is significant; and though it would not be wise to make it a basis of calculation, it seems to be quite consistent with our estimated total, and with the known organization of the Wahábis in more recent times.²

It is already apparent that in this remodelled society, the civil, military and religious functions were necessarily intertwined, and a helpful picture of a people under similar conditions is again provided by the Wahábis at the outset of their movement.

The following extracts are abridged from
 The Wahábis. *Materials* of Burckhardt, pp. 96 ff.

"The religion and government of the Wahábys may be briefly defined as a Muselman puritanism, and a Bedouin government, in which the great chief is both the political and the religious leader of the nation, exercising his authority in the same manner as the followers of Mohammed did over his converted countrymen. The founder of this sect [was] Abd El Waháb, a learned Arabian :

¹ 1 Samuel viii, 12.

² See above, p. 179, n. 1.

Mohammed Ibn Saoud was the first who assumed the title of Emir ; but his force was then so small that in his first skirmish with some enemies, as it is related, he had only seven camel riders with him. . . .

“ The doctrines of Abd el Waháb were not those of a new religion ; his efforts were directed to reform abuses, and to disseminate the pure faith among Bedouins, who, although nominally Muselmans, were equally ignorant of religion, as indifferent about all duties which it prescribed (p. 99).

“ The Waháby religion prescribes continual war against all who have not adopted the reformed doctrine (p. 166). All the male Wahábys are so far soldiers, that the great chief may call upon them to serve at any moment. But this system, though favourable to rapid movements towards an enemy's territory, or against invasion, does not suit a project of distant and permanent conquest.”

“ The expeditions of Saoud were planned with much prudence and foresight, and executed with such celerity, that they seldom failed ” (p. 170). “ Thus thirty-five villages of the Hauran were sacked by his soldiers, before the Pasha of Damascus could make any demonstration of defence.”

“ In propagating their creed, the Wahábys have established it as a fundamental rule to kill all their enemies found in arms ” (p. 176). “ During four years' warfare not a single instance is recorded of their having given quarter to a Turk. When Kerbela and Tayf were taken, the whole population was massacred. . . . This savage custom has inspired the Wahábys with a ferocious fanaticism which makes them dreadful with their adversaries,

and thus has contributed to facilitate the propagation of their faith."

These notes from modern history supply ready points of comparison with the first stages of the Israelite penetration. One strain of O.T. tradition (D) makes out that the Israelites did indeed make good their footing by some such ruthless methods as are attributed to the Waháby. But a scrutiny of the text in the Book of Joshua (x, 28-39), and comparison with the Amarna Letters, discloses a confusion between the records of the Habiru invasion and that of the Israelites in the mind of the Deuteronomic Redactor.¹ The assimilation must have seemed reasonable, especially after a lapse of time, for both bodies were Hebrews, and their movements were more or less contemporary. But, in fact, the Israelites were not only too few at the outset, but too poorly armed, to conquer a fortified and organized country like Canaan under normal circumstances. Their own arms

**Equipment
for war.**

must have been still those of Bedouin, the sword and the bow, with possibly a knife and sling. Joshua's victories, for he led the troops in person, were gained by rapid marchings and surprise tactics, completed by impetuous charges in the name of Yahweh. But there is no suggestion that even a horse, much less a chariot, was known or used by Israel at this time.

As for the method of camping, the Book of Deuteronomy gives regulations on this matter, and refers them back to this period, but it is doubtful to what extent they can be applied. It is true that

¹ Cf. *Joshua: Judges*, pp. 257/8.

among the Hittites, in contemporary times, military regulations of the most precise character existed, and copies are still preserved, giving detailed instructions about camping in enemy country. But the observance of these regulations argues resources which Israel could hardly then possess, such as abundance of timber and good axes, and their terms were largely inapplicable to Bedouin conditions. None the less, some special arrangements for encamping must have been in force even thus early in the movement; for the Israelites brought with them the Sacred Stones, which they had adopted as emblems of Yahweh at Mt. Horeb. These, encased in a wooden coffer, the Ark, formed the central feature of the Cultus and occupied a special tent detached from the rest. The pre-arranging of an appointed place for the sacred tent within the area of the camp, involves a measure of order in the method of encampment; but the description of the camp in the Book of Numbers, which purports to be contemporary, has demonstrably been added to the narrative by the hand of the Priesthood a thousand years later, and gives us a picture of the Tabernacle in the reign of David.

After twenty years or so in camp at Gilgal, political circumstances began to change. An organized invasion of Hittites from the North was challenging the Pharaoh's suzerainty in Syria, and bands of Habiru, known from independent sources as Hittite mercenaries, invaded Canaan. The Pharaoh's garrisons were weak at the time, and he turned a deaf ear to the chieftains' appeal for help. For fifty years, it is recorded, no army of the Pharaoh visited the country. Many chiefs

threw off their allegiance in face of the new danger, and the whole country fell rapidly into political disorder. Under these conditions Joshua, though very old, was able to move his camp, including, of course, the Ark, to Shiloh, and finally to establish the headquarters of Israel at Shechem.¹ Here he seems to have entered into a pact with the inhabitants and established a code of Civil

New code
of laws.

Laws appropriate to the new conditions.

Some scholars hold that he simply subscribed to the law of the land, in order to cement peaceful relations with the Canaanites of Shechem and vicinity, and support for this view is found in the fact that the pact seems to have been sworn at the local shrine.² Deuteronomic tradition also suggests, in a passage that has become misplaced in the narrative, that strangers were present at one such ceremony.³ An older version describes how Joshua made a covenant with the people, and "set them a statute and an ordinance at Shechem, and wrote these words in the book of the law of God."⁴ Though the two passages do not agree in detail and possibly refer to different meetings, there is no suggestion in either that the Civil Laws of Israel were adopted from the Canaanites. These are embodied in the Book of Exodus (xxi, xxiii, E), where they are called the Judgements, and are ascribed to Moses himself: on this point tradition was both consistent and emphatic, and is supported by an examination of their contents. In the first place the laws are

¹ Joshua xviii, 1, P; 8-10, JE, xxiv, 1, E.

² "Guardian of Oaths," Genesis xxxv, 4, E; Joshua xxiv, 26, E; *Joshua: Judges*, p. 250.

³ Joshua viii, 30, 35.

⁴ Joshua xxiv, 25, 26, E.

found to have been grouped by "pentads," (fives) in a form convenient for memorizing: had they been drawn up in Canaan they would in all probability have been written down, either in Hebrew, or earlier in cuneiform, and this form would not have been adopted. Secondly, though its principal laws are all to be found in the Code of Hammurabi, they do not follow the same arrangement, and the special cases include a number based on desert law and nomadic practice. They thus cover appropriately the social requirements of a people about to pass from desert life into the midst of a settled and agricultural population, while showing little or no influence of Egypt, then the ruling power in Canaan.

A more important question may be raised by those familiar with modern criticism, as to admitting these laws at all into this period. Yet they are so dependent on Hammurabi's Code that they must appear to have been drawn up under circumstances and conditions when the latter had unchallenged sway, whereas if they had been a product of a later age they would surely bear trace of some other political or social influence.¹ That nomadic habits and customs were still in force is indicated by the fact that the code contains no rules for settling disputes about landed property, of

¹ Dr. Waterman, A.J.S.L., xxxviii, p. 36, points out that the narrative of Exodus xxiv, 7, E, does not claim that Moses wrote the book of the law, but that he read from it: he argues that the covenant tradition may have been transferred to Joshua (Joshua viii, 30, R D, and xxiv, E and R D) from a still earlier time, possibly that of Jacob (Genesis xxxiii, 18; xxxiv, 9, 10), though the preserved narrative is late, being ascribed to P in both passages. The relations of Jacob with Shechem are amplified by accounts in the Apocrypha (Book of Jubilees xxiv, and the Testament of Levi).

inheritance, of buying and selling goods nor of contracts, nor does it cover the question of female heirship. All these matters arise later, either in the Deuteronomic Code or later still in the Priestly regulations. Again, the laws are fully consistent with the culture-standard of the period when the Egyptian, Hittite, and Babylonian powers, whose influence extended to Syria, had already long established codes of their own. It is possible to underestimate the standards of society and culture throughout western Asia and Egypt in this age, and some commentators overlook the height to which the genius of Moses and the leaders of Israel rose during their crisis. As a matter of fact, recent enquirers incline to assign the Deuteronomic Code to the northern kingdom and the age of Saul: it is a revision and expansion of the Elohist Code of Exodus, which thus falls naturally into the period of Moses and Joshua, the tribes having been dispersed and without central authority between these two epochs of national organization.

As already intimated, it has been recognized¹ that the clauses of the Civil Code of Exodus xxi group themselves by fives, i.e., by pentads, as in the Decalogue or Ten Commandments of Exodus xx; and that these pentads, taken in pairs, constitute five decalogues, a convenient arrangement for memorizing. Three clauses are missing in the fifth decalogue, but the gap can be readily filled by reference to the parallel text in Deuteronomy xxii, a later but faithful version. Three passages in the text do not fall in with the decalogue principle and

¹ By Dr. Levy Waterman; see A.J.S.L., xxxviii, pp. 36-53.

arrangement (viz., Exodus xxi, 17, 22-25 ; xxii, 2, 3a), but these are thought to be exegetical notes or "glosses".

The original code seems to have embodied fifty clauses covering five social principles : (i) Slaves, (ii) Assault, (iii) Damage involving domestic animals, (iv) Damage to or loss of personal property, (v) Crime against the family. It is found that in each pentad the first law is based on a provision of the Hammurabi Code ; and not the least significant feature is to be found in the adjustment of terms and punishments to Canaanite conditions. The following schedule summarizing the subject-matter and showing the arrangement is based primarily on the analysis by Dr. Levy Waterman in *A.J.S.L.*, xxxviii, pp. 36-53, with modifications by Professor Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, p. 107. The last clause of all, being of a religious order, is to be regarded as having displaced a clause now lost.

ANALYSIS OF THE CIVIL LAWS OF ISRAEL IN CANAAN WITH REFERENCE TO THE BASIC LAWS IN THE BABYLONIAN CODE OF HAMMURABI.

I.—ENSLAVEMENT FOR DEBT. Basis Code Hammurabi 117.

A.—*Male Debt-slaves.*

i. To serve six years (C.H. three years) ...	Exodus xxi. 2 E
ii. If single when enslaved, to go free single ...	3 a
iii. If married when enslaved, to take wife out ...	3 b
iv. If wife provided by master, leave her behind ...	4
v. Case of man who wishes to remain slave ...	5, 6

B.—*Female Debt-slaves.*

i. Terms of release to differ from men. ...	7
ii. Case of master's concubine ...	8
iii. Case of master's son's concubine ...	9
iv. Position with regard to another wife ...	10
v. Circumstances entitling her to release ...	11

II.—ASSAULT. Basis Code Hammurabi 206 ff.

A.—*Capital Cases.*

i. Death penalty for man-slaying ...	Exodus xxi, 12
ii. Unpremeditated homicide : asylum ...	13
iii. Deliberate murder : no asylum ...	14
iv. Striking father or mother : death ...	15
v. Man-stealing : death ...	16

(Hebrew code here inserts cursing of parents.)

B.—*Minor Cases.*

i. Assailant to pay for doctor and loss of time ...	18-19
ii. Case of slave dying when beaten ...	20
iii. Case if slave survives a day or two ...	21
iv. Slave to be freed if eye knocked out ...	26
v. Slave to be freed if tooth knocked out... ..	27

III.—DAMAGE INVOLVING DOMESTIC ANIMALS.

A.—*Ox that Gores.* Basis Code Hammurabi 250-252.

i. First offence—ox stoned, owner not liable ...	28
ii. Ox known to gore—owner liable as well ...	29
iii. Provision for money ransom in this case ...	30
iv. Law to apply to goring of son or daughter ...	31
v. Goring of slave—ox stoned, 30 shekels paid ...	32

B.—*Damage to Animals and Theft.* Basis C.H. 245.

i. Compensation for beast fallen in pit ...	33, 34
ii. Compensation for ox gored by another ox ...	35, 36
iii. Compensation when ox was known to gore ...	36
iv. Restitution for stolen ox or sheep. C.H. 8	Exodus xxiii, 1
v. Restitution when stolen beast is recovered ...	4

IV.—LOSS OF PROPERTY BY TRESPASS OR NEGLIGENCE.

A.—

i. Damage by pasturing animals in another's field. Code Hammurabi 57 d ...	5
ii. Damage by fire among crops. Code Hammurabi 53 irrigation ...	6
iii. Loss of property deposited with another, when thief found. (C.H. 125) ...	7
iv. Similar case, thief not found, purgation by oath ...	8
v. Restitution by deposittee... ..	9

B.—*Responsibilities of Shepherds.* Code Hammurabi 266.

i. Oath of purgation for lost beast	...	...	...	10, 11
ii. Restitution for stolen beast	...	...	...	12
iii. No restitution if torn by beasts...	...	...	...	13
iv. Damage to borrowed beast in absence of owner	...	...	...	14
v. Similar case when owner is present	...	...	...	15

V.—CRIMES AGAINST THE FAMILY.

A.—*Adultery, Rape and Seduction.*

i. Adultery of married woman	...	Deuteronomy xxii,	22
iii. Adultery of betrothed girl. (C.H. 129 f)	...	...	23, 24
iii. Rape of betrothed girl in fields	...	...	25, 26
iv. Seducer to marry unbetrothed girl	...	Exodus xxii,	16
v. If father refuses her, must still pay bride price	..		17

B.—*Miscellaneous.*

i, ii. The slandered bride	...	Deuteronomy xxii,	13-19
iii. Unnatural sins	...	Exodus xxii.	19
iv. Sorceresses to be killed. (Code Hammurabi 2)	...		18
v. Lost.			

The code may have been thus arranged under Moses, or as Dr. Waterman has suggested, it may even have been worked out during the earlier patriarchal period at Shechem and memorized, but there is little doubt that under Joshua it took written form, which is thus preserved almost complete; and it became the law of Israel from that time.

These "Judgements" are true laws bearing on civil and criminal cases, and they are conspicuously free from any sense of ritual or religious enactments, nor is there any trace of a religious covenant. They resemble in some detail and yet differ from the laws of Hammurabi's code which had been long practised in Canaan, in a way and to an extent which shows them to have developed independently of both Canaan and Babylon. Examination will

show this particularly in the nature of the desert laws embodied in both codes. Since our primary object is to trace the development of social institutions in Canaan or Palestine itself, it will be sufficient to illustrate our conclusion by a limited number of selected examples of differences and parallelisms.

In the matter of slaves (section I), the "servants" of Exodus xxi, 2-11; the terms of release are covered by clause 117 of the Hammurabi code, with certain differences. In the case of men the length of service is only three years, as against six in Canaan; female slaves stood on the same footing, but in Canaan they were reduced to the status of concubine. The other cases in the Hebrew law have no parallel in the Babylonian code of Hammurabi.

**Comparison
with
Babylonian
laws.**

In the matter of offences against the person (section II), Exodus xxi, 12-27, cases A.i, iv, and B.i are covered by cases 206, 207 and 195 respectively in Hammurabi's code. The latter provides a penalty for manslaughter even where death was accidental, and makes allowances for intent; while the severe penalty of death for striking father or mother is replaced by cutting off the fingers. The more extreme penalty is in keeping with desert customs, which are also reflected in v. 17, where the cursing of parents is punishable with death, a clause which has no counterpart in the Babylonian code. A suggestive modification of B.i occurs in vv. 18, 19, where the scarcity of doctors in Canaan leads to the omission of the reference. The Hebrew law provides in v. 20 for the case of the slave beaten to death (B.ii), which is not found in Hammurabi's code.

The condemnation of the practice is evidently moral rather than penal, for no penalty is stated in this special case. It is also to be noted that the punishment prescribed for hurting a woman with child in xxi, 22, might be properly included under Section II, B, as its parallel is found in No. 209 of Hammurabi's code; its context suggests, however, a connexion with the *Lex Talionis*.

In the matter of injuries involving domestic animals (section III), covered by Exodus xxi, 28-36, the Hebrew law discloses two or three customs which seem to be original and local. The stoning of a goring ox (clauses i and ii) recalls the desert law of blood-revenge, and finds no place in the Babylonian code (250, 251), which further distinguishes between negligence and intention on the part of the owner. In the third case, which provides a money ransom, the wording of the Hebrew law suggests an option on the part of the relatives as to the acceptance of the fine, again suggestive of the Bedoui method. In the second "pentad" of this section, Nos. i, ii, iii, depend on Hammurabi 245, and No. iv on Hammurabi 8; while the case considered in No. v, when the beast is found in the thief's possession alive (Exodus xxii, 4), has no parallel in Hammurabi's code.

In the matter of social purity (section V), the main principles involved are the same in both laws. Cases A.i and ii, supplied from Deuteronomy xxii, 22-24, and B.iv, have no parallel in the Babylonian code. Five out of the nine clauses in this section have to be provided out of the Book of Deuteronomy: the last clause also must be regarded as lost, since the text of Exodus xxii, 20, reveals the hand of an

editor introducing a religious edict into what is otherwise a purely civil code.

The foregoing comparison of the Israelite and Babylonian laws supports the conclusion to which we have already been drawn, that the civil code of Israel, though showing a marked resemblance in many clauses to that of Hammurabi, was not directly borrowed from the latter, but had an independent history and development. In our view it embodies, as a foundation, a number of principal laws established in the land, being based on those of Hammurabi and dating from the days of Babylonian supremacy, to which have been added other social regulations of the country, what we may call "common law"; and with these have been combined a number derived from Bedouin custom. More briefly, the laws are derived from those current in the country, combined with a number based on Bedouin custom; and they have been grouped together under main subjects and divisions drawn from the Hammurabi code.

That the Israelites included a proportion of laws not peculiar to the Babylonian code, becomes clear by a further comparison with the Hittite laws. In

general the penalties prescribed by the latter are less severe; and the *Lex*

Talionis, in particular, finds no place in the more enlightened outlook of the Anatolian peoples. But in such matters as the loss of property, damage to fields (Exodus xxii, 5), responsibility of shepherds (Exodus xxii, 11), and damage to hired animals (Exodus xxii, 13), the Israelite laws find their several counterparts in the Hittite code (II.6 and I.76 respectively), as well as in that of

Hammurabi. It may be urged that the Hittite code also was founded on Babylonian laws, and that may be partly true, in view of the historical relations of the two areas. Numerous considerations suggest, however, that certain laws and legal customs became current throughout all Western Asia, dating perhaps from the days of earlier Babylonian supremacy; and that from this common foundation the several national codes were built up, with such addition and modification as was appropriate in each case. Thus in the fifth section of the Hebrew code dealing with social purity, two leading cases in both the Babylonian and Hittite codes demanding death for adultery or rape are included in the later Deuteronomic code (Deuteronomy xxii, 22, 25), but are excluded from the earlier code of the Book of Exodus. These laws were evidently current when the Israelites entered Canaan (for the Hittite code dates from that time), but for some reason they were not acceptable at that time to the Israelites. Possibly the punishment of males by death for sexual offences was regarded as too severe, though applicable to females. Whatever may have been the reason for this omission, there is evidence of selection and power of selection on the part of those who drew up the Hebrew code. They did not accept or subscribe to laws imposed upon them, but framed their own code out of the available materials.

Compared with the penal codes of their neighbours, it is found that in some respects they are much more severe, and include a greater number of capital offences. As time went on, to judge by the modifications in the Deuteronomic code, the

tendency in civil cases was to give more consideration to the question of intention and premeditation, a moral improvement in which the Hittites gave the lead, in contrast to the more summary and often savage punishments provided by Assyrian legislation. On the other hand, in seeking to establish the monotheistic ideal, the tendency in religious matters was to become more and more severe, so that in the end quite a number of religious offences, such as Moloch-worship, profanation of the Sabbath, practice of magic, blasphemy and idolatry became punishable by death, in addition to the vices and offences already included in the laws dealing with social purity. How early this change came about is not clear, but probably it followed the stern upbraidings and reproofs of the early prophets; and evidently it was completed before the close of the seventh century B.C.

In the civil code, the laws regulating marriage show also interesting points of comparison. Among the Israelites the promise of the marriageable girl was given by her father; and from that time, while still under the paternal roof, she was specially protected. The future bridegroom paid a stipulated sum (*mohar*, dowry) to the bride's father, as was the Babylonian custom, whereas among the Hittites there was a mutual exchange of presents. If the wife did not bear a child, the husband might take a concubine for that purpose, as in the Babylonian law, but the latter could not acquire the rights of the legal wife. Repudiation of marriage was allowed in the Israelite code as in the other, but only in favour of the husband. An Israelite wife who had taken a second husband after divorce could never

return to the first, as was permissible in certain cases in the Babylonian law. Among the Hittites again, a woman might repudiate her marriage contract, having changed her mind, and the man upon whom had fallen her second choice had to make good the dowry to the first. The Israelite laws show no such consideration for the woman, whose position in the eyes of the law was definitely inferior and called for no special favour. In this respect, as in the regulations for marriage, there is little difference between the Israelite and Bedouin practice: the latter may indeed be regarded as permanent, and to have furnished the basis of the laws in the Israelite code. Adultery of the wife was punished by death without reserve; and if the husband merely suspected his wife of unfaithfulness, the Israelites, in place of the ordeal by water of the Babylonian law, resorted to that curious institution of "the water of jealousy."¹

The Bedouin elements interspersed throughout the code of Israel provide a study of special interest.² The principle of blood revenge may be regarded as the supreme law of the desert; and the narrative of the Old Testament indicates that in Israel it had been in force since the early Patriarchal era,³ right through the period of Israel's settlement, as witness the slaying of Abner in cold blood by Joab to avenge the death of his brother Asahel in battle.⁴ The danger of blood vengeance was excess, as seen

¹ Num. v, 11, P. Cf. Contenau, *Manuel*, p. 348.

² See further, W. Robertson Smith, *The O.T. in the Jewish Church*, 2nd edn., p. 340 ff.

³ Cf. The Song of Lamech, Genesis iv. 23-4, J.

⁴ 2 Samuel ii, 22, 23.

already in the Song of Lamech.¹

If Cain shall be avenged seven-fold

Truly Lamech seventy and seven-fold.

Society early began to protect itself against this tendency by limiting the amount of retribution that might be exacted, and arranging terms of compensation or ransom. The *Lex Talionis* laid down the reasonable principle that not more than one life might be taken for a life, "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth." It voices essentially the Bedouin outlook; for among desert Arabs all are equal: riches and poverty are incidental and transient; one man's life can be of no greater value than another's. Among settled communities there is a different outlook: among the Babylonians, for example, this regulation applied only to the Patrician (*Amelu*), who was very sensitive to personal injury and would accept no compensation, unlike the commercial plebeian who was obliged to accept monetary compensation. It has indeed been suggested² that the attempt to maintain the *Lex Talionis* in Deuteronomy (xix, 21) represents similar social principles, money compensation being a feature of the Canaanite law.³ The Canaanite would thus stand in the same relation to the Israelite (in the seventh century B.C.) as the Babylonian *Mushkenu* to their Amorite conquerors.

The right of asylum is another well-known Bedouin law. A fugitive from tribal justice or personal

¹ Genesis iv, 24, J.

² Cf. Johns, *Laws of Babylonia and of the Hebrew People*, pp. 32-33.

³ Cf. Exodus xxi, 30, which looks like an insertion.

revenge may take refuge even in the tent of an enemy, and so secure a few days' grace and the hope of justice. The simple claim "Ana daheilak" ("I am your *protégé*") with a hand on the main tent rope, will save a man from being slain in hot blood without a hearing. So we find appropriately that the first clause of the criminal law in the Israelite code (Exodus xxi, 12), which provides the death penalty for murder, grants at the same time (v. 13) in case of unpremeditated killing, a right of asylum, presumably at the nearest altar to Yahweh. The following clause ordains, however, that the wilful murderer (v. 14) may be dragged even from the altar where he had sought sanctuary. In v. 30 provision is made for ransom or blood money, only in certain instances of manslaughter and accidental homicide. In cases of premeditated murder ransom or blood money was in fact never accepted by the Israelites in principle or practice. In the priestly account of the Mosaic law,¹ it was expressly forbidden: "Ye shall take no ransom for the life of a manslayer which is guilty of death." The cities of refuge were a post-exilic institution.

In view of the strong Hittite element among the settled communities of Canaan, it is noteworthy that the *Lex Talionis* has no place in the Hittite code. In this, on the contrary, all injuries to the person, even homicide, can be compensated by money payments. It would appear, then, that it was from this, the non-Semitic side, that came the influence against maintaining the law in its original severity, an

Blood-
revenge
Semitic.

¹ Numbers xxxv, 31, P.

influence which in the end prevailed and secured the provision for monetary or other compensation. Against this tendency the attitude of the Deuteronomic law in the passage already mentioned (xix, 21) reads like a protest: "Thine eye shall not pity; life shall go for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot"; and the tendency under the monarchy, when this law took form, was rather towards the excess of blood-revenge than the submerging of the custom. The perpetuation of this desert law amid the influences of the other communities of Canaan has peculiar significance. The Bedouin origins and traditions of Israel seem never to have become submerged, being revived continuously by the proximity of the deserts and the consequent constant renewal of their Bedouin relations.

It has been aptly pointed out¹ that "Penal law in civilized countries, in which the individual is the unit, consists in inflicting punishments on guilty individuals in order that others may be warned and discouraged from similar misdeeds; and that the community as a whole may be saved from similar crimes against the safety, honour and welfare of the collective community.

"Bedouin law, on the other hand, which is based on the tribal and collective idea, and in which individualism plays no part, consists simply in retribution and restitution. . . . Thus if an eye is knocked out, Bedouin law demands that another eye shall be knocked out in return, or that the first one shall be paid for, there being no hint or suggestion of inflicting punishment to prevent similar

¹ Austin Kennett, *Bedouin Justice*, p. 30.

occurrences in the future. This represents the fundamental difference between civilized and Bedouin law.

“The penal side of this law is negative, consequently, in order to make it applicable to modern conditions even in the desert, and positive in its deterrent qualities, it has been found not only desirable but practicable for the civil power to support the Bedouin code in its application.”

Trial by ordeal is another Bedouin practice of permanent character which has been admitted, not only within the scope of the law of Israel, but in modern administrations, as being efficacious and not easily replaced. This institution must date from primitive times, and was seemingly in its origin, as it has been through the ages, of a non-religious character. It is still employed as a last resort when direct witness fails in the trial of grave social crimes, such as suspected murder or adultery, or when the judges of a serious case have not been able to arrive at an arrangement which would avoid ultimate bloodshed, either by their decision or by mutual agreement of the accused and his traducers. The ordeal is conducted by one of a limited number of special sheikhs, of whom only four are in fact now recognized throughout all Palestine, including Trans-Jordan and the southern deserts. He must as a rule be sought at some desert place, and the impressive gravity of the occasion, including both the journey and the ceremony, is an element in its success.

The ordeal works by suggestion, and it certainly succeeds in many cases in selecting the culprit.

Two methods are familiar: the one by fire, the application of a hot iron, usually a coffee roaster, to the tongue; the other by swallowing something objectionable. In both cases the nerves of those undergoing the trial are worked upon by the sheikh, by the recitation of magical words and prayers, and by suggestion, foretelling a different effect upon the innocent and the guilty.¹ So great is the influence of these sheikhs of the ordeal (*mubash'in*) that in full desert life they are able practically to mesmerize not only the inculpated parties, but the whole assembly in the tent. One recorded method of detecting guilt tells how the sheikh solemnly and with appropriate incantations drives a long nail into the ground, on which, of course, all present are seated, affirming that in so doing he is fixing down the guilty. He then bids all the innocent to stand, and the guilty party generally betrays himself, either by remaining glued to his seat, or by a special effort to tear himself away.

In the case of the ordeal by fire, the tongue of the guilty, being dry already with apprehension, usually shows the traces of the iron, and in some cases is really burnt. On the other hand, according to report, some people can lick the iron as many as twenty times without suffering a burn.² The iron is not bright red, but is supposed to be hot

¹ Cf. Omar Effendi El Barghuthi, *Judicial Courts among the Bedouin of Palestine*, J.P.O.S., vol. ii, p. 22 ff. Also Austin Kennett, *Bedouin Justice*, p. 107.

² It is found by experiment that a man may plunge his arm into a cauldron of molten lead without suffering harm, if the act be performed boldly, in and out. The natural moisture of the skin provides, it is said, a cushion of vapour which temporarily wards off direct contact with the lead. [This is well known in the Black Country.—Ed.]

enough to burn a few grains of tobacco after the ordeal is over. In practice it is doubtful whether even this heat is applied: usually the guilt or innocence of a defendant can be divined from his demeanour, and not a few cases are settled by arrangement or intermediation out of court, or on the ride towards the fire-sheikh's desert home as the apprehension of the guilty party increases.¹

In modern practice of the native courts at Beer-sheba it is a court of three judges appointed to try the cases in the first instance, which decides the exact nature of the ordeal and how it shall be applied; whether, that is, upon the accused or upon his traducer, or both. In one case, which the present writer attended, the plaintiff in a civil case, unable to establish his claim through lack of evidence, appealed to the verdict of ordeal by fire. The court accepted his appeal, being impressed by his attitude; so, too, did the defendant, though with some reluctance. Asked why he was not so willing, he said that he did not see why an innocent man should be obliged to run risk because of a trumped-up charge. This hesitation, in Arab eyes, could only arise from a guilty conscience. While the judges glanced quickly at one another, saying nothing, the plaintiff at once offered to submit to the test alone, on the grounds that if his complaint were not justified the iron would burn him. All eyes turned at once to the defendant, who grew uncomfortable and indeed found himself in a trap. He asked for a little while to reflect, and after another case had been disposed of, he returned

¹ The ordeal by fire in various forms is common enough all through Arabia. In this matter Burckhardt seems to have been misled. Cf. von Maltzen, *Reise nach Sudarabien*, p. 294.

with an offer to compromise. A violent quarrel then broke out between him and his supporters, members of his family, who thus realized his guilt.¹

The ordeal by swallowing has various methods of application: there is invariably an element of suggestion, but to this is sometimes added physical discomfort. "It consists of swallowing quickly and without hesitation something hard, like dry bread, or something nauseating. The one who hesitates, complains, or vomits, is accused. Those who perform the act quickly and with nonchalance are pronounced innocent."²

This kind of ordeal seems to be freely practised among the South Arabian tribes, amongst whom it takes various forms. One class of test appears to work exclusively by mental and visual suggestion, directed by a widely known and respected master in the art. "He takes a water-skin upon which holy maxims are inscribed, blows it up and commands that the belly of the guilty party shall be blown up in the same way. The immediate fullness of body of this person naturally indicates his guilt."³

Doughty records two instances of the swelling of the belly of the guilty persons, under the influence of the magician.⁴ One was the case of a man and two women who had stolen a valuable chest from

¹ Not the least interesting feature of this case lay in the fact that it concerned a division of spoils from a raid from Trans-Jordan into Palestine. The court did not concern itself with the illegal nature of the cause, but with the proper division of the spoils and the subsequent apportionment of fines.

² El. Barghuthi, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

³ von Maltzen, *Reise*, p. 120.

⁴ Doughty, *Arabia Petraea*, pp. 189, 368. Cf. Morgenstern, *Trial by Ordeal among the Semites and in Ancient Israel*. Cincinnati, 1925, pp. 131, 132.

a neighbour's house, and upon being questioned denied all knowledge thereof. "Then the Mundel took three girbies [skins], and blew them up, and he cast them from him. . . . In a little while the three persons came again running, . . . all of them holding their bellies, which were swollen to bursting. 'Oh, me! I beseech thee,' cries the man. 'Sir, the chest is with me, only release me out of this pain and I will restore it immediately.' His women also pitifully acknowledged their guilt. Then the Mundel spelled upon his beads backwards to reverse the enchantment." The other was the case of the abduction and murder of a little girl; it was not known who had committed the crime. "The bereaved father sought a soothsayer, in the time of whose 'reading' they supposed that the belly of the guilty person would swell."

The foregoing classes of ordeal are entirely non-religious, having no connexion with either deity or sanctuary. Even the term *kahen*, by which the "ordeal judge" is occasionally designated, does not have in Arabic quite the same specific connotation, priest, as in Hebrew, but means rather diviner, oracle interpreter, or sorcerer. "The Bedouin still believe to-day that it is not Allah who confers the power to detect criminals through the ordeal, but *Shaitan*, the Evil One. As von Maltzen has likewise observed, the entire procedure of the ordeal among the Arab tribes is manifestly of heathen religion and fundamentally opposed to the principles and practices of Moslem Law."¹

Another test, the third type of ordeal, involves the oath, and in this a religious element, the fear of

¹ Morgenstern, *op. cit.*, pp. 125, 126.

God, is present. It is used currently for testing the credibility of witnesses, but may be applied more solemnly and ceremoniously in deciding the guilt or innocence of an accused person, against whom the evidence is incomplete. In this case the judge asks the defendant to give "one-ninth, an oath, and five": this formula involves one-ninth of the blood-money, or 3,670 piastres, a sum which is paid at once; the oath, which is to be sworn by the defendant and one of his relations, while three others of his kindred second the oath, by swearing good faith and five oaths. The person who swears with the accused is appointed by him, and is always the most honourable and distinguished of his family.¹

"The four persons who swear with the accused go to a well-known saint or prophet to make the oath. The judge either goes with them himself, or sends someone else to act as his representative. They take off their shoes and enter reverently. The accused crouches in the niche, stretches forth his hand, and swears. The oath, which must not be interrupted, runs as follows: 'By the great God (repeated thrice), the creator of night and day, the only One, the victorious, who deprives children of their fathers and makes women widows, who vanquishes kings, who subdues oppressors, I have not acted, nor killed, nor seen, nor heard, nor known, nor accomplished evil nor helped to do it.' The three others swear: 'We bear witness by God that their oath and all that they have said is true.'

"When the principal supporter swears, the judge sentences the defendant to only one-ninth of the

¹ El Barghuthi, *Judicial Courts*, *loc. cit.*, p. 20.

blood-money, or to a thousand piastres on his entrance and another thousand on his exit, or, again, a white camel on his entrance, and another on going out. These sums are paid when the accused person enters the house of the accuser for reconciliation, and when he leaves it.

“If the principal supporter refuses to swear, he is asked to explain the reason for his refusal, and the accused is condemned to pay the full sum of the blood-money if he has accepted the nomination of the principal supporter.”

These processes of ordeal, which are at root in each case a test of conscience, are permanent Semitic institutions, and must have been current among the customs of nomadic Israel. Some exact parallels survive in their early laws, into which they were clearly admitted in deference to established practice, and afterwards gradually adapted to existing circumstance and religion.

The desert element is quite transparent in the ordeal by swallowing, which is described in great detail in the Book of Numbers (v. [P]) ; though the scene is set in the sanctuary of Yahweh, before the altar. It is applied in this case as a test to a woman suspected of adultery. “21. The priest shall cause the woman to swear with the oaths of cursing. . . . 23. And shall write the curses in the book and he shall blot them out into the water of bitterness. 24. And he shall make the woman drink the water of bitterness that causeth the curse. 27. And then it shall come to pass, if she be defiled, and have committed a trespass against her husband, that the water which causeth the curse shall enter into her and become

**Ordeal
of bitter
water.**

bitter, and her belly shall swell. . . . 29. This is the law of jealousy." Bedouin practice already described has demonstrated current belief in the validity of this test. With regard to detail, the writing down of the words of a curse and then soaking them off in the water to be drunk, is a magical procedure quite familiar in the East to-day. The process may indeed be applied to doing good: verses from the Koran are written and soaked off into water to be drunk by sick people, in faith of a speedy recovery, and the present writer has seen this done repeatedly in Upper Egypt, where the peasantry are largely of Arab blood.¹

The fact that this law was not included in the Elohist code, but appears only in the late Priestly laws, can hardly signify in this case that it was only adapted later from the desert peoples. It rather suggests that the original effort of Moses was to supplant it by some more legal or religious process, but that in the end in-born custom prevailed, and the ordeal was incorporated with a religious setting.

The effort to secure a religious footing for their custom seems to transpire in Exodus xxii, vv. 7-9 and 10-13 [E]. While the oath plays the leading part in these regulations, v. 9 states that the "cause of both parties shall come before God." It is not then the simple case of clearing up a doubt by the solemn oath of one party, but of trial in some form; after which "he whom God shall condemn

¹ See further on this subject *inter alia*: Canaan, *Aberglauben und Volksmedizin im Lande des Bibel*, 80; Doutté, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 228; T. P. Jaussen in J.P.O.S., iii (1924), p. 155.

shall pay double unto his neighbour." Nothing is said as to the method of trial, and the omission is presumably intended to suggest the direct judgment of God, but no mouthpiece is provided. The lot is hardly applicable to a case of right and wrong, and would clearly lead to injustice and unpopularity. It seems more probable that some kind of ordeal was carried out by the priest in the name of Yahweh, and that the result was binding as being the judgment of God.

The Bedouin element in the laws of Israel so strikingly illustrated by the *Lex Talionis*, and the Trial by Ordeal, is apparent also in a number of simpler matters. Thus the provision¹ for halving the loss involved when one man's ox hurts another that it die, is reported by Doughty² to be now a custom of the desert ; and it is certainly, as Thomson points out,³ a happy compromise calculated to prevent many angry and sometimes fatal feuds. In Exodus xxii, 1, the penalty laid down of fourfold restitution of stolen sheep is still usual among the modern Bedouin.⁴ In further regard to Exodus xxii, vv. 7-9, E, by which a person unable to return property left on deposit may clear himself by oath or ordeal at the sanctuary, both Burckhardt⁵ and Doughty⁶ state that among the Arabs now a person suspected of theft will be acquitted on taking certain specially solemn oaths. The custom of depositing money or goods with another for safety during

¹ Exodus xxi, 35, 36, E.

² *Arabia Deserta*, i, 351.

³ *Land and Book*, ii, 283.

⁴ Cook, *Laws of Moses and Code of Hammurabi*, p. 216; also Driver, *Camb. Bib.: Exodus*, *ad loc.*

⁵ *Bedouins*, i, 126-128.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, i, 267.

absence is much respected, and the deposit is usually regarded among the Arabs as a sacred trust.¹ In the matter of capital punishment, the stoning of Achan and his family at Jericho for sacrilege, seems to be inconsistent with the stage of personal responsibility evidenced by these laws ; but expert criticism of the text of the narrative in this case (Joshua vii) leads to the recognition of v. 24 as a later interpolation. In v. 25, for instance, it is said " And all Israel stoned him with stones," and a little further appears the inconsistent reading " and stoned them with stones " which has obviously been added later for some reason to the text. The same story offers valuable evidence on another matter of interest in primitive society, namely, community execution, by which the sequel of personal blood-revenge was avoided.² Stoning seems to have been the recognized method of inflicting capital punishment, but certain heinous moral crimes were punishable by burning the culprit alive.³

Though the Elohist law consists mainly of two recognized early elements, namely, a selection from the common law of Canaan and a formulation of customary law of Bedouin life, there are incorporated also in the text some principles which can

¹ Cf. Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 227 ; Doughty, *op. cit.*, i, 176, 280 ; ii, 301.

² In modern experience, an Arab policeman who, during a struggle by night, shot a smuggler caught in the act, even though he was on government service and there was no question of premeditation, was pursued by the nearest of kin of the dead man from one post to another, until the over-zealous officer had to be transferred from the district of Gaza, where the incident occurred, to that of Tiberias, where apparently he continued his work in safety.

³ Cf. Genesis xxxviii, 24. The punishment of a woman for adultery among the Bedouin is invariably death.

hardly be reconciled with the first stage of settlement. For instance, the simple matter of condoning the death of a thief killed at night reflects settled conditions. It was permitted by the laws of Athens and other advanced societies.¹ But in Bedouin life the frequent absence of menfolk in the day and their return at nightfall causes the approach of a thief or other evil-minded person to be regarded as a more serious offence by day. There are also a number of humanitarian laws, which must seem to us in the present state of knowledge incompatible with the period or the experience of Israel at that time. Thus, by Exodus xxii, 21, 22, the sojourner, the widower and the orphan are not to be oppressed. By xxii, 25, interest (usury) is not to be exacted from the poor; and of the same nature xxii, 26, 27, a garment taken in pledge is not to be kept after sundown. The return of an enemy's beast (xxiii, 4, 5) though consistent with the Bedouin custom of protecting and returning an enemy's women, seems none the less equally out of place. These special laws, however, may be regarded as forming a group apart (Exodus xxii, 18-27; xxiii, 1-5), and it is possible that they were borrowed from the laws of Canaan or even inserted at a later stage. The admonition as to impartiality in justice (xxiii, 6-9), though belonging to the same category, has, of course, its contemporary counterpart in Egypt, where it was laid down with insistence, as also in the Babylonian code.

The existence of laws argues some sort of organization for their administration: the fact that some

¹ Cf. Driver, *Exodus, Camb. Bible*, p. 224.

of the laws were formal and codified shows further
Judges and justice. that the organization would not be haphazard. In this connexion, as Kennett points out,¹ the suggestion of Exodus xviii cannot be overlooked. "The Omdas and Sheikhs (rulers of thousands and rulers of hundreds) were appointed as magistrates and county court judges, while tribal feud and cases of appeal were brought before Moses' own supreme court." This passage really tries to picture the past to western eyes; we are, however, to get rid of the notion of court-rooms and tables, ushers and policemen, and picture a tent with groups of excited people seated on the floor and apparently all talking at once. As we get used to the noise and seeming disorder, we find the groups to be separated, to be more or less circular in arrangement, and to include three elders each, who talk less than the others and occasionally ask terse questions. At first there is much gesticulation and even sign of anger, but gradually the talkers become exhausted, and begin to show the effects of nerve-strain. Witnesses, already seated, are next heard, and they also are encouraged to say all they know. The three elders talk quietly to one another, ask a few pointed questions of one or other of the parties, and finally announce their verdict. Their senior acts as mouth-piece, and he may devote some time and even eloquence to expounding and bringing home to his hearers some point of equity involved—for the Bedoui is more concerned with Justice than with Law. His co-judges usually add a few words of explanation or amplification.

¹ *Bedouin Justice*, p. 37.

Such, with the addition of a few tables and benches, is the organization of the Bedouin courtroom at Beersheba to-day ; and as such we should picture the judicial organization of Israel during the period under consideration. The problems of Israel's leaders at the time were of much the same character as those of the present British Administration. They had to adapt the Bedouin law to community life, in a manner satisfactory to both sides, and to make provision for its administration and enforcement. Under Bedouin conditions, the decisions of the courts are usually honoured without question. The fugitive from justice is an outcast from his tribe and at the complete mercy of his enemies. A culprit will rather face his obligations than the desert without his friends and life companions. But among townsfolk the situation is different : condemned defaulters are a burden to society and prison becomes necessary. Amongst the Israelites at this time, however, there was no sign of any such provision : they still abode in tents and lived a semi-nomadic life for fully 200 years. In the towns lock-up rooms could probably be found in the vicinity of the chieftain's house, should need for such arise ; but imprisonment was not one of the prescribed punishments.

It is thus seen that the Semitic organization of justice was something totally different from the western ideal. This does not gainsay its reality and efficiency. Apart from religious matters, the position of Moses and then of Joshua entirely conforms with that of the Bedouin chief, who combines the offices of leader in war, arbitrator in dispute and general head in all tribal concerns. Beside the chief in tribal society, controlling any

arbitrary action on his part, are the heads of families, or elders, who form a permanent though informal council, the authority of which is tacitly admitted by all loyal members of the tribe. These are the Sheikhs, and from among them usually three of the most experienced¹ and most respected try to settle local difficulties and disputes, referring only criminal and contentious matters to a higher tribunal. The latter involves nowadays, among the half-settled nomads, members of the British administration. But only a relatively small proportion of non-criminal cases appears before the British courts. The Bedouin, and to a less extent the resident population, still recognize their ancient legal system, which was in force before Islam,² and invoke the help of their native judges. These are persons of high honour and experience, selected exclusively from certain noble families amongst whom the administration of justice is almost hereditary and regarded as a privilege. The names of some of the judges have become historic and include several female lawyers. The survival of this honoured institution helps us to appreciate the position of the "Judges" among the Israelites after their entry into Canaan, as well as the earlier organization of justice ascribed to Moses.

Doubt is sometimes expressed as to the value of the record which ascribes the organization of the legal system to Moses or his period; and grounds for such doubt may be sought in the record of a formal sub-division of the community at this time

¹ Cf. Palmer, *Des. Ex.*, 187.

² E.C. Barghuthi, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

by thousands and hundreds, which is clearly anachronous, and in the ætiological character of the story of Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, at whose instigation Moses is said to have established this separate branch in the tribal administration. Those who are satisfied already from the history and experiences of Israel up to this point that the framing of laws at this stage was timely and practicable, will find no cause to question the necessity of an organization to administer the law. The mere insertion in the record of a later idea as to the appropriate number of officials involved in such a scheme cannot be held to invalidate the record as a whole. The story of Jethro, again, is not fundamental to this organization ; but even if we admit the ætiological appearance of the narrative, surely this is directed to disguising the fact that Yahweh had been worshipped by the Midianites previous to the arrival of the Israelites and the manifestation on Horeb ; and by frequent reiteration of the words " father-in-law," to making the cult appear to have been safeguarded all the time within the family of Moses, without reference to the newness of the relationship. In any case, the elements of a judicial organization must have been already present, as within all tribal communities of the desert, and the need was ever increasing.

The change from Bedouin democracy to absolute theocracy involved a corresponding modification in each branch of social organization. It became fundamentally necessary that purely civil disputes and questions should be settled by deputies, while Moses, already busied from morning till evening with teaching the new Idea of God and making

known the new Statutes¹, should himself try only the harder cases,² including doubtless at first those which came on appeal before God Himself.³ It was a simpler matter, in reality, than organizing the clan for war, for the elements were already present. Such injunctions of Moses to the judges as are preserved⁴ are consistent with the standards of justice aimed at, as we have seen, by all the enlightened rulers of the age⁵; while that of xxiii, 3, forbidding favouritism even of the poor,⁶ in direct contradiction of the Hammurabi principle, would have no logical place in the later Levitical legislation.

Another illustration of Bedouin life throws light also on the religious organization of the Israelites at this stage. We refer to the Meribateen.⁷ These

The
priesthood
and the
"Levites."

were originally holy men who occupied themselves with religious exercises near the tombs of the saints, while their flocks and herds were grazing miles away in the open desert under the charge of their paid

¹ Exodus xviii, 15, E.

² *Ibid.*, 26, E.

³ Exodus xxii, 9. On the method of appeal, *see* above, p. 205. *Cf. also* Driver, *Judges, Int. Crit. Com.* Deuteronomy xvi, 18-20, "It may be inferred that in ancient Israel judgement . . . was regarded as a divine decision, and delivered at a sanctuary."

⁴ Exodus xxiii, 1-3, 6-9.

⁵ Above, chap. iii, pp. 55, 64. On the matter of bribery among the Arabs, *cf.* Doughty, *Arab. Des.*, i, 606 · in Israel, Driver on Exodus xxiii, 8, *Cambridge Bible*; *ibid.*, George Adam Smith, on Deuteronomy xvi, 19. On later attitude: *See* 1 Samuel viii, 3; xii, 3; Amos v, 12; Isaiah i, 23; xxxiii, 15; v, 23; Micah iii, 11; Ezekiel xxii, 12; Psalms xv, 5; xxvi, 10; Proverbs xvii, 8, 23.

⁶ On this perplexing point, *see* particularly Johns, *Laws of Babylonia and of Hebrew People*, p. 46. Also Driver on Exodus xxiii, 6, E (*Cambridge Bible*). *Cf.* further, Amos v, 12; Isaiah x, 2; Jeremiah v, 28; Psalm x, 17; lxxii, 12-14; lxxxii, 4; Proverbs xxxi, 9.

⁷ Described by Kennett, *Bedouin Justice*, pp. 25-26.

Saadi shepherds. The latter in time became hardy fighting men and ultimately wealthy squires ; while the holy men, on the other hand, lost most of their flocks and eventually became the shepherds of their one-time servants. Relations between these two tribes were maintained on this new basis, but to this day, in remembrance of the past, when a Saadi Sheikh is travelling through territory of a Merabit family originally attached to his tribe, he will receive as he goes individual offerings of sheep and goats, as a relic of the old-time wage. In the organization of the Wáhabis, again, as we have already noted,¹ a special body of religious instructors was detailed for service among the Bedouin, in the proportion roughly of about one to every fifty. There is no difficulty, then, in accepting the tenor of the Biblical narrative² which tells of the detachment of a special group or clan, the later Levites, at first in the deserts as attendants upon the Ark and the Tent of Meeting, then in Canaan as ministers before the Ark at the central shrine of Shiloh, until with the continual growth of the community, some of their number accompanied each of the dispersing tribes to their allotted areas as representatives of an established priesthood.

We have now before us a picture of the central organization. The religious head and Great Chief was assisted, in war by permanent officers, each knowing and commanding his own contingent ; in the administration of justice and the law by Sheikhs and tribal Judges ; and in religious rites (such as oracles and sacrifices) by a permanent and graded priesthood. This

¹ Above p. 179, n. 1.

² Numbers i, 49, ff. ; iii, 6, ff. Joshua xxi ; cf. Judges xvii, 7, f.

organization, at first no doubt tentative, and based in each branch upon the innate systems that have been observed in ordinary Bedouin life, would gradually become more stable and more formal with the expansion of the people and the growth of necessity ; so that when the tribes dispersed, the organization of each can be regarded as a replica of the original central unit under Moses and Joshua in the desert. At the head of each tribe would be a Judge, assisted by Sheikhs and Elders, some of whom would assume the legal functions, others the military preparations with which they were now familiar ; and with each tribe would be also a number of priests and holy men representing the central cult of Yahweh, the sole remaining bond.

The dispersal of the tribes throughout the interior of Palestine is pictured in the records as taking place by large detachments, after a formal ceremony. Thus the five northern tribes draw lots for their respective territory and apparently move off to take possession. But this picture is illusory, and a careful scrutiny of the earliest records, J and E, suggests a different and more modest beginning. The territory to be "occupied" was not yet conquered : none of the great cities had been reduced. Canaan was unshaken by the coming of Israel ; and after the temporary breakdown of the fourteenth century, under Akhenaton, the Egyptian organization regained control over the activities of the chieftains and continued to drain the country of its resources.

We have traced the Israelites as a growing clan as far as Shechem : fresh adherents and prosperity may have increased their numbers by this time (1375 B.C.) to 15,000 souls. They were still in tents, and the

local pasturage would not support so many nomads, even if the local inhabitants agreed to their remaining. So, with the grazing area of each "tribe" already assigned, and in this respect there is no reason to question that the allocation was made by sacred lot at the shrine of Yahweh, they moved off to seek new pastures, not as conquering tribes taking possession, but by quiet family groups, two or three hundred maybe at a time,¹ feeling their way, and under necessity of making arrangements with the towns on whose lands they grazed their flocks.

This was the most critical period in the history of Israel, when the erstwhile clan broke up by families, which in turn scattered themselves among the hills

**The tribes
among the
Canaanites.**

of central Palestine and Galilee, obliged to enter into relations with the inhabitants of the land, to respect their gods, to learn to some extent their speech and ways. Nothing could weld them together at this stage but the common flame of their religion, and this at times must have burnt very low amid the vicissitudes and temptations of their surroundings. Moreover, the wars of local chiefs, the frequent passage of the Pharaoh's troops, and political circumstances changing constantly, must often have cut off these tribal elements from their central shrine and chief counsellors at Shechem or at Shiloh for long periods. The records are brief (Judges ii, 11; iii, 31): the tell of raids and oppression in the south, which effectively prevented the tribes of Judah and

¹ The fighting strength of the tribe of Dan at the time of their migration to their northern home is set down at 600 men girt with weapons of war (Judges xviii, 11, E-J), from which the maximum effective of the tribe at that time may be estimated at 2,500 souls.

Benjamin from developing or even settling ; while for the rest (iii, 5), " the children of Israel dwelt among the Canaanites, the Hittite and the Amorite, the Perizzite and the Hivite and the Jebusite. 6. And they took their daughters to be their wives, and gave their own daughters to their sons and served their gods. 7. . . and forgot the Lord their God, and served the Baalim and the Asheroth."

This state of things lasted for 150 years, and, however unsatisfactory to the religious leaders of Israel, the time seems to have been well used by the central and northern tribes. We gather from this passage that in the long run they settled down and on the whole got on well with the natives and townspeople in their respective areas, still abiding themselves in tents and living their traditional semi-nomadic life. A scrutiny of the Egyptian records also suggests that for the most part they seem to have succeeded in avoiding the Pharaoh's wrath, and indeed profited greatly in some ways by following up his military exploits. This is particularly evident in the occupation of Galilee, and in the notable development of the tribes of Zebulon and Naphtali during the long period of 80 years peace which the country enjoyed under Seti I and his son Rameses II. In only one recorded instance did Israel become involved in some political offence, and share with other branches of the population the Pharaoh's chastisement. The record is that of Merneptah (c. 1220 B.C.); and it refers presumably to the leading group of Israel, Ephraim, near Shechem ; it is of particular interest as recognizing Israel for the first time as an element in the population of the country.¹

¹ Breasted, *Anc. Rec. Eg.* iii, 617.

As a matter of fact, times were changing and becoming on the whole more favourable to the cause of Israel. The Canaanite power and civilization were fading before new forces of the Iron Age; while, on the other hand, the northern tribes had prospered and expanded so greatly that Naphtali and Zebulon alone could now muster 10,000 fighting men. About 1200 B.C., under the leadership of Barak of Naphtali, a momentous victory was won in the plain of Esdraelon, which at one blow broke the Canaanite power, expelled the foreign ally, and reunited seven of the northern tribes of Israel in a national endeavour.



ISRAELITES AND THEIR DESERT ALLIES.

*From a fragmentary coloured relief in the Metropolitan Museum of New York.
Thirteenth Century, B.C.*

CHAPTER VII.

NON-SEMITIC SOCIETIES IN CANAAN.

1375-1075 B.C.

*Hittites—Achæans and other sea-rovers—Philistines :
their race, organization, arms, status of women,
and religious elements.*

OF the foreign or non-Semitic infiltration into Palestine previous to the coming of Israel we know very little. We have already alluded to the early activities of the northern Hittites, a race with Indo-European affinities, and described the outline of their social fabric.¹

**Hittite
penetration.**

Various references in the Biblical narrative, unconfirmed, however, as yet from external sources, suggest a penetration of Hittite elements among the older population of the country, even as far as Hebron, and as early as the age of Abraham ; and this possibility is not contravened by other facts. Archæology bears witness to material Hittite influence early in the fourteenth century B.C. on various sites² : votive offerings, including distinctive seals and weapons, have been found in excavation at the foot of the altar of the goddess at Beisan ; a gateway of the important fortress of Shechem is seen to have

¹ p. 78 ff.

² Cf. *The Hittite Empire*, p. 125 ff.

been remodelled at about this time on a Hittite plan, and other smaller traces of Hittite handiwork have been recognized as far south as Gaza. These may be ascribed to the Hittite inroad of the Akhenaton period, represented at the outset by the Ḫabiru-Hittite mercenary troops. This was a big movement, almost an organized invasion, and though repelled by Harmhab and his successors, so that Egypt regained her local authority, it was accompanied by a marked infiltration of Hittite blood, as seen in the facial types of the defenders of the rebel cities and the prisoners taken by the Pharaohs, portrayed by the Egyptian artists. To the same epoch, perhaps, may be ascribed the origins of the saying perpetuated by Ezekiel (xvi, 3) to the effect that the population of Jerusalem was half Amorite and half Hittite.

Shechem, the stronghold of the central highlands, fell into the hands of the Ḫabiru about 1367 B.C. and the fact was duly reported to the Pharaoh.¹ This episode falls by computation about the time when Joshua and the Israelites are said to have established themselves at Shechem, and may reflect that fact²: the difference between Israelite-Hebrews and Hittite-Hebrews would be negligible to the distressed chieftains of the day, and as the activities of the Ḫabiru extended from one end of the country to the other, they could not fail to leave an impress on the land. Unfortunately the sequel can only be inferred from scattered traces of Hittite culture, and the political magnitude of the event. There is nothing either in Biblical or existing Egyptian

¹ Amarna Letter, Kn. No. 289.

² *Joshua* : *Judges*, pp. 254-5.

literature—other than the Amarna letters—to tell of any permanent effect upon the communities already settled in the country.¹ From the Hittite archives we learn of the success of their arms and diplomacy in Syria as far south as the neighbourhood of Damascus. From the Egyptian records we gather that it was not until the great battle which Rameses II fought with them upon the Orontes, about 1287 B.C., and the treaty of peace concluded eleven years later, that the Pharaoh regained his disputed supremacy of Canaan and the south, while the Hittites remained masters of the north. Thus the Hittite factor, though unknown, is by no means negligible in the social history of the country; and the names of individual soldiers in later times, like Uriah, show that Hittite elements persisted long after the decline of Hittite protection.

Among the list of Hittite auxiliaries attracted by gold, according to the Pharaoh's taunt, to the great contest, appear bands of warrior people from the extreme west and the coastlands of Asia Minor. Among these figure a number of Trojan allies, including Dardanians, Mysians, and Cilicians, while Lycians and Sherdens had earlier shown themselves upon the horizon of Egypt, and bands of the last-named had been enrolled as mercenaries in the Egyptian army. Greek legends tell tales of heroes wandering round the coasts of Syria as far as Egypt, and some of these stories may have been based upon the actual

¹ The Ras Shamra tablets, with their allusions to Ashdod and the Negeb, seem to reflect a northward movement of Phœnician peoples at an earlier date. Cf Dussaud, *Rev. de l'Hist. des Relig.* cviii, 1933, pp. 16 ff.

adventures of these days. The eastern Mediterranean became alive with sea-rovers, and the Egyptian records tell especially of one expedition in the age of Merneptah (c. 1220 B.C.), which included also Achæans, completing thus the picture of an Homeric age.

Exactly how far the stir of these times affected the people and customs of Palestine is a matter of conjecture: probably the influence at this stage was small since these people came as a rule only in raiding bands; but Sisera, the agent and ally of Hazor (c. 1200 B.C.) looms as an exception, and he was doubtless accompanied by other professional soldiers from the north or overseas. His headquarters were established in the Plain of Acre at some point which commanded the approaches to Esdraelon. Tell Harbaj meets the case archæologically and topographically,¹ and it may therefore be identified tentatively with "Harosheth of the Gentiles." In this case there must have been a certain amount of contact between Sisera's comrades in arms and those Canaanites with whom they were allied, but the social influence of these relations can have been but little; the arrangement lasted only twenty years, after which the whole situation was changed by Sisera's defeat. It seems, however, that Sisera and his people had come to settle, as fortune has preserved a charming picture which purports to give us a glimpse of his mother and harîm in their home.

*Through the window she looked forth and cried,
The mother of Sisera cried through the lattice,*

¹ *Bull. Brit. Sch. Arch. Jerusalem*, II, 12; IV, 46.

*Why is his chariot so long in coming ?
Why tarry the wheels of his chariot ?
Her wise ladies answered her,
Yea, she returned answer to herself,
Have they not found, have they not divided the
 spoil,
A damsel, two damsels, to every man :
To Sisera a spoil of divers colours,
A spoil of divers colours of embroidery,
Of divers colours of embroidery on both sides on
 the necks of the spoil ?*

(Judges v, 28-30 E.).

The picture of Sisera's womenfolk seated behind a screened window overlooking the city gate is seen as it were through Semitic glasses, and a parallel might be found in any old town of Palestine to-day. But the attitude of mind, as interpreted by the minstrel in this scene, appropriately suggests the entourage of freebooters and *condottieri*. A fight involved for them no supreme issues ; the risk of life was taken for granted, and the question of the moment was the amount and beauty of the expected spoils. Clearly they were foreign : the fateful struggle of the old Canaanite kingdom with the growing strength of Yahweh's people mattered little ; and it cannot be expected that any peculiar social institutions introduced by them would have taken root under such conditions. The peaceful trading ships of Keftiu which occasionally called at the seaports of Acre and Tantura (Dor) probably brought more durable foreign influence to bear upon the civilization of the country, by introducing culture products of Crete and the Ægean which served as stimulus and models to the local arts.

But the social basis and religion of Canaan remained unaffected by these visits and intrusions; the Baals and Astartes were still the deities to whom the Canaanites paid their devotions; Taanach and Megiddo remained the bulwarks of their frontier system, as described in an earlier chapter. None the less the times were difficult; the administration was weak and public security was in jeopardy. The state of things is vividly suggested by two lines early in Deborah's Song (Judges v, 6).

*The highways were unoccupied,
And the people walked through byways.*

The punitive expeditions and exactions of successive Pharaohs had greatly impoverished the country, and weakened its resources, so that it became less and less able to resist the raiding of sea-rovers and the invasion of desert hordes, which grew more insistent with the weakening of Egyptian protection. At this crisis the situation of the townsfolk, the settled Canaanites and Amorites, was more difficult than that of the Israelites, who from tent or hamlet were more readily able to take refuge in the mountains and caves when raids threatened. This is well illustrated by the account of the Midianite incursion, which introduced the camel, and overran the rich cornlands of Jezreel and Taanach,¹ engulfing these towns and precipitating the decline of Canaan. Concurrently we find the Israelites beginning to feel the strength of union and to make good their footing: Gideon's people were cultivators and had adopted village life; Abimelech had relatives in Shechem itself, where evidently the Israelites had secured by this time, if not of old, an influential

¹ Judges vi, 3 ff., viii, 21. J.

status. In short, at the dawn of the Iron Age the Israelites were beginning gradually to displace the Canaanites in town and village and to gain in places political ascendancy, until the coming of the Philistines put a temporary check upon their ambitions.

Before proceeding to examine the nature of this new crisis, we may note one other society which is sometimes claimed by modern writers to have a foreign or non-Semitic origin. We refer to the Hivites, the inhabitants of Gibeon, Beeroth, and two smaller places, with whom Joshua made an alliance. The argument for the foreign origin of this community is entirely theoretical and linguistic, being based on the ease with which in Hebrew the word Hivite may be turned into Achæan. Certainly the organization of this society was strange; it comprised four towns, but no king; and a council of elders exclusively directed their affairs. But here our knowledge ends; no archæological remains suggest a foreign element, nor is there anything characteristically Achæan about the Hivites' war spirit or equipment. Indeed, more recent investigators claim the Hivites as members of the Hurrian family or race, equating the word Hivite with Horite. A small linguistic detail of this kind, however, is clearly insufficient basis for determining their ethnic origins.

In the wake of the sea-rovers came the Philistines, not this time as adventurers in a raid, but as members of a migratory horde that swept from Asia Minor down the Syrian sea-board, and called out the Pharaoh from Egypt to protect his frontier; for the *Pulasati*

The
Philistines.

or *Peleset* of the Egyptian records, from the coincidence in place and date, together with other more general considerations, must be identified with the Philistines of the Biblical narrative. By the same movement, which was started very possibly by drought in south-eastern Europe, the Hittite capital in Asia Minor was overrun and the Hittite empire dismembered. For a thousand years the Hittite organization of the Anatolian plateau had held the Taurus mountains like a frontier between the Semite and the Aryan. Now, however, peoples from various areas of Asia Minor pushed down with their families seeking new homes. They included Sherdens, possibly from Sardis, some of whom were already established as an important mercenary element in the Egyptian army,¹ Shekelesh possibly from Sagalassos, and Philistines, who came from or by way of the southern coasts of Asia Minor, as well as two groups whose names Zakkala (the Thekels) and Washasha suggest a relationship with Zagros and Oaxos on the coast of Crete.

That the Philistines came from or by way of the south coast of Asia Minor is suggested in several ways. Biblical tradition assigns to them an original home in Caphtor,² probably to be identified with the Egyptian word Keftiu, the name of a district trading with Egypt, which has been shown from the distinctive nature of its art-products to have included the south coasts of Asia Minor.³ Again, the name Akashou, which is mentioned on a school-

¹ Breasted, *Anc. Rec. Eg.* iii, 402.

² Genesis x, 14, J; Jeremiah xlvii, 4; Amos ix, 7.

³ Wainwright: J.E.A. xvii, 26 f. Cf. Hall: *Keftiu*, in *Essays in Ægean Arch.*, 7, p. 31 f.

boy's tablet in hieratic as the name of a certain Keftiuan, recalls closely that of the best known of the lords of the Philistines, Achish, king of Gath¹; while three other Keftiuan names on the same tablet, Pinaruta, Rusa and Adinai, if correct, are comparable with Pinarus, Rhosus and Adana, which form a geographical group in eastern Cilicia. Of a less controversial character perhaps is the fact that the distinctive plumed head-dress of the Philistines, seen in a good Egyptian picture to consist of an ornamental metal band into which feathers were inserted in close order, was also represented on the Phæstos disc: this is a circular object of clay found in Crete, stamped spiral-wise with a hieroglyphic inscription, and among the pictographs are numerous details again pointing to the Carian and Lycian coasts. The conclusion is one of interest, for the coastal region of Asia Minor had been bound up with the Hittite empire, and no doubt shared in its social and military organization, while absorbing a good deal of culture from the Cretan and Ægean civilizations.

With the Philistines came also among others the Thekels (or Zakkala) and there is literary evidence to show that while the former became settled after their defeat at their five well-known centres in the south of the coastal plain, Gaza, Askalon, Ashdod, Ekron and Gath, the latter, according to the story of Wen-Amon, established themselves further north, in particular at the port of Dor (Tanturah), in the Plain of Sharon. The Egyptian account seems to imply that the Philistines and their allies were

¹ 1 Samuel xxi, 10.

actually planted in those sites by the Pharaoh as garrison troops, sworn to loyal service as the price of their lives and freedom. The record,¹ after vaunting the Pharaoh's triumph over the various armed elements in this horde, states categorically: "I settled them in strong-holds, bound in my name," and though it might appear natural to look for these strong-holds in Egypt, the fact is that these two peoples, the Philistines and the Thekels, are found later in the same century in unchallenged possession of the maritime plain of Palestine, over which Egypt still claimed a formal suzerainty. In the Biblical narrative the Philistines appear in the rôle of well-meaning and, on the whole, successful rulers, repressing any rebellious attitude or territorial ambitions on the part of Israel, and no doubt of the other inhabitants. Thus it must be recognized that the Philistines most probably were acting on behalf of Egypt; especially in view of the fact that they were stationed practically on the Egyptian frontier.

As Egyptian prestige and authority declined, the Philistines and the Israelites, no less than the remnant of the Canaanites who had formerly counted on Egypt for protection, found it necessary to rely upon themselves alone. It was at this stage that the struggle between the Israelites and the Philistines began to be a war to the death.

A few Philistines had evidently arrived ahead of the great migration, and seem already to have settled in the south of Palestine, on the borders of the Negeb, while some had actually taken service

¹ Breasted, *Anct. Rec. Eg.* iv, 403.

in the Egyptian army, and appeared, like the Sherdens, fighting in the great battle against their kinsfolk.¹ The Egyptian record refers to the towns of these earlier immigrants, and the Biblical narrative tells how Shamgar Ben Anath saved Israel by a defeat of the Philistines,² at a date corresponding with the end of the reign of Rameses II (c. 1230 B.C.). Ben Anath is known independently from the Egyptian archives as that Pharaoh's sea-captain, who was doubtless responsible for the protection of the Syrian coast.³ Remains of an earlier Philistine settlement have also been found in Palestine to the south of Gaza, and seem to synchronize with this first appearance of the Philistines in the age of Shamgar.⁴

The Philistines seem to have been charged with the maintenance of order throughout the southern part of the country, leaving Esdraelon and the north to the Canaanites as of old. Of the five cities where Philistines are located in the Biblical account, only two, Gaza and Askalon, have been examined with the spade; both have yielded up the typical pottery specimens, in particular the crater cinerary urns decorated with certain bird-devices, which archæology now recognizes as distinctive of the Philistines and their period.

The coming of the Philistines and their co-migrants (c. 1200 B.C.) ushered in the Iron Age; and the incipient use of the new metal is reflected in the

¹ Breasted, *Anct. Rec. Eg.* iv, 71. Cf. Nelson, *Medinet Habu*, p. 5 and fig. 4; also the completed survey by the Chicago Exped., vol. I. Pl. xvii.

² Judges iii, 31.

³ *Joshua* : Judges, p. 287.

⁴ Petrie, *Cat. Bethpelet*, 1929, p. 5, Tomb. 352; *Joshua* : Judges, p. 285.

Biblical narrative of their age. Thus Sisera's nine hundred chariots were said to have been made of iron ; so, too, in David's time, was Goliath's great spear. It is strongly to be suspected that the Philistines reserved the imported iron, or the secret of forging it, to themselves, as it was among the complaints of Israel that "there was no smith found throughout all the land."¹ The special talent of the Kenites had obviously been limited to the alloying of brass and working up bronze weapons, and it is significant that the surviving traces of ancient copper working are found in the Kenite and Edomite areas to the east of the Arabah. Now, the introduction of iron gave the Philistines an immeasurable advantage ; not only did they keep the Israelites from making themselves swords or spears, but all the Israelites went down to the Philistines to sharpen every man his share, and his axe and other agricultural implements.² The knowledge of the use of iron not only involved the downfall of Bronze Age culture, but proved to be a great stimulus to a new civilization, and peculiarly helpful to those societies which were quickest to appreciate and adopt it. It had already become known to the Hittites of Anatolia, a fact which may account for their success in war, and was regarded with jealousy, if not misgiving, by the Pharaoh Rameses II, who tried unsuccessfully to secure a shipload of the metal by negotiation. It is probable that iron-producing areas in Europe were already familiar with the metal, which in the south had hitherto been found and worked only in small quantities.

¹ Samuel xiii, 19.

² Ibid., 20.

The Philistines themselves may have come originally out of Europe, from the Dalmatian coast,¹ but they had dallied long enough on the way to adopt the customs of other adventurers from the coasts of the Ægean and Asia Minor. Of a certainty they were neither Egyptian nor Semitic, being uncircumcized, and in all probability they were of Aryan blood, for a number of words they introduced seem to have an Indo-European affinity. Their chieftains, "the Lords of the Philistines," for example, were called *seren* (*seranim*),² a word comparable with the Greek *Turannos*. Renan³ also pointed out several other striking though not philologically convincing parallels,⁴ which include

parbar or *parvar* (suburb) compare *peribolus*.

m^eKonah, something with moving wheels: *machina*.

m^eKherah, a sword, compare *machaira* (Greek), and *pilegesh*, a concubine, which compares with *pellex*.

These parallels, as Noordzij has remarked, cannot be considered as proving parentage on one side or the other, but that the Philistines constituted a foreign society with Aryan affinities is further borne out by an examination of such meagre information as we have concerning their social structure. Though as strangers in a foreign land, they were destined in the end to be absorbed, yet their possible influence cannot be overlooked in view of the dominating

¹ See the suggestive paper on Philistine Origins, by Phythian Adams, in B.S.A.J. Bulletin, No. 3, 1923, p. 20.

² In the LXX, however, the term Satraps is employed (Macalister, *The Philistines* p. 79).

³ Renan, *Histoire du Peuple d'Israel*, p. 342. But cf. C.A.H. iii, 290.

⁴ Macalister, *op. cit.* p. 80.

position they held for the time being ; indeed, the very name of Palestine is a souvenir of their prestige.

In the Biblical narrative they appear as a military aristocracy, and so far as can be discerned, their government was an oligarchy of a particular kind. The five lords who ruled the five separate cities together formed a council, in which each seemed to have had equal voice on all matters of common interest. There was no "king," though the term may have been applied to them in error¹ ; nor is there clear indication of a president or chief among the lords. They took decisions and action in common. The arrangements made by Achish with David² were overruled by his colleagues, and together they negotiated with Delilah, and subsequently convened the fatal feast to triumph over Samson.³ The claim of the lords to their chieftainships is not clear, but there is suggestion in an Assyrian source, therefore necessarily of the later period, that the office was hereditary. On the other hand, their functions were democratic : the people of Ashdod and Ekron "sent and gathered all the lords of the Philistines unto them,"⁴ and told them of their own desires.

Notwithstanding the independence of the chieftainships, there is nothing to indicate a division of the Philistines by tribes or clans : the partition of the country, within the limited area described, seems to have been made for purposes of administration. David in fleeing from Saul declares⁵ "there is nothing better for me than that I should escape

¹ Jeremiah xxv, 20 ; Zechariah ix, 5.

² 1 Samuel xxviii, 1 ; xxix, 4.

³ Judges xvi, 23, J.

⁴ 1 Samuel v, 8, 11.

⁵ 1 Samuel xxvii, 1.

into the land of the Philistines," and thereupon seeks out Achish, asking him to "let them give me a place in some town in the country that I may dwell there; for why should thy servant dwell in the royal city with thee." As a result, Achish gave to him Ziklag, so that place must have been directly under the control of the lord or chief of Gath.¹ In similar fashion, Joppa, according to Sennacherib, depended on Askalon; and there is mention of country villages as distinct from fenced cities.²

The Philistines' rule and their rights as overlords were recognized by the more peaceably minded inhabitants of Judah,³ but for the maintenance of order in face of the growing restlessness of the Israelites in the age of Samuel and Saul, they were obliged to organize patrols, and for this purpose used selected bases. Thus when Saul and Jonathan abode at Geba the Philistines encamped at Michmash,⁴ a tactical centre opposite Geba across a rock-strewn valley, with command of the approaches of the Jordan. Previously they seem to have established a more permanent garrison on "the Hill of God,"⁵ which was presumably the height overlooking Gibeon, claimed by some as the site of Mizpah. In the time of David they appear to have maintained an outpost at Bethlehem.⁶ It is noticeable that these three bases lie in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, which they strategically surround; and it may be suspected that they were selected to give support to the Jebusite stronghold.

¹ Cf. 1 Samuel v, 6; Judges i, 18 P.

² 1 Samuel vi, 18.

³ Judges xv, 11, J.

⁴ 1 Samuel xiii, 16.

⁵ 1 Samuel x, 5.

⁶ II Samuel xxiii. 14.

For wider military operations the Philistines established bases further afield. Thus they are said to have concentrated at "Aphek" when the smitten Israelites decided to fetch the Ark of the covenant of the Lord out of Shiloh, only to lose it in the next encounter,¹ and again on the eve of the decisive battle on the slopes of Gilboa that ended the career of Saul. Aphek (to-day Baka) seems to have been used by the Philistines for the same purpose as Yemma by the Egyptians. Controlling the meeting of strategic roads in the Plain of Sharon, it gave direct access by the pass known as Bab el Ebweib to the Plain of Dothan and the western spurs of Mt. Gilboa; and it commanded also the approaches to Megiddo in the Plain of Esdraelon by the Wady Arah. The importance of this position as one of the strategic centres of the country was indeed recognized in later times by the Roman administration which planted its headquarters at Cæsarea on the adjoining sea-coast; and doubtless the Philistines held Aphek in the same way by a permanent garrison.

There is a further suggestion in the narrative of the death of Saul that Bethshan also must have been in their hands or controlled by allies; inasmuch as they hung upon its walls overnight the body of the slain king, which was only removed by an expedition of Israelites from beyond the Jordan.² Incidentally, this episode shows a marked contrast of practice between the Semite and the non-Semite in displaying the bodies of their fallen enemies. The bodies of the kings of Ai and of other places in the south put to death by Joshua were hanged only until

¹ 1 Samuel iv, 3-11.

² 1 Samuel xxxi, 12.

nightfall¹ when they were buried by the Israelites themselves, the one under a mound of stones, the others in a cave which was closed up. These adversaries, it may be, were Semites, but it is to be suspected that the practice originated not from respect for, but from some sense of fear of, the dead. The Philistines appear to have cremated their dead,² so that the exposure of a corpse not only implied deep degradation, but exhibited a total unconcern for local superstition on the subject.

There seems to be no record of Philistine intervention in the north, within the old kingdom of Hazor, neither in Galilee, to the north of Esdraelon, nor, indeed, in the plain itself. That district seems still to have remained with the Canaanites, though challenged more and more in political and commercial strength by the northern tribes of Israel. The one recorded Philistine eruption on to the slopes of Gilboa did not necessarily intrude more than temporarily upon the plain, nor have as its objective any enlargement of the Philistine sphere of influence : it seems to have aimed exclusively at restraining the ambitions of Israel under Saul. On this occasion the Philistines deployed in chariots, as might readily be done on the western slopes of Gilboa from the direction of Jezreel and Jenin (Ain Ganin), whence presumably came their attack.

The use of chariots by the Philistines, as well as their panoply and liking for single combat³ all reflect an Iron Age culture of the Homeric or

¹ Joshua viii, 26, J ; x, 26, J.

² No distinctively Philistine interments of the period have been recognized, while on the other hand the crater-vase, one of their most familiar pottery objects, suggests cremation.

³ 1 Samuel xvii, 3-41.

Achæan type. In the battle on Gilboa, however, it was mainly the archers that seem to have distressed the Israelites. This offensive arm is not distinctive of the Philistines in the Egyptian representations of the time of Rameses III, though a speciality of the Egyptians themselves, and it was also used by some of their mercenary troops. There is indeed reason to think that the Philistines must have been reinforced in successive generations either by detachments of their own peoples from overseas, as is suggested by the survival of their original and distinctive pottery and small objects, or by other bands of mercenary troops, whether details from the Egyptian army or other professional soldiers employed by the Philistines themselves. In this connexion should be noted the significant passage (in 1 Samuel xiv, 21) describing the defections from the Philistine ranks after the redoubtable feat of arms by Jonathan at Michmash. "Now the Hebrews that were with the Philistines as beforetime, which went up with them in the camp from round about, even they also turned to be with the Israelites that were with Saul and Jonathan." We have therefore to recognize also the presence in the country of an element of non-Israelite Hebrews, whether remnants of the Hittite-Habiru, or branches of the Abrahamic stock distinct from the family of Jacob-Israel.¹ It is not to be forgotten, either, that the Thekels or Zakkala, their allies, possessed the only established sea-port of the northern plain, at Dora, which lies just north of Aphek, so that they too were probably involved in this campaign.

The defensive armour and side-arms of the

¹ Above, p. 149.

Philistines were characteristic of the age. They wore laminated body armour, of a kind found in the eastern Mediterranean towards the close of the Bronze Age; and they protected themselves further by small round shields like those of the Sherdens, whom indeed they resembled in nearly every detail except their head-dress. Their chief offensive arm was a short broad-sword, also like that of the Sherdens.

It is not known whether the Philistines retained their distinctive feather headdress after becoming settled in the cities of the pentarchy: there is no allusion to it in the Biblical descriptions. Goliath, the Philistines' champion in the Davidic saga, wore a helmet of brass, greaves upon his shins, and a javelin slung between his shoulders. In his hand was a great and heavy spear, and his shield was carried by a bearer—a truly Homeric figure, but not quite characteristic of the Philistines themselves. His presence confirms the suggestion that the Philistines maintained their contacts with overseas. Apart from this they appear as a characteristic group of the Achæan warrior type of the thirteenth and twelfth centuries B.C., and they were probably well known in Crete and elsewhere around the southern shores of the Aegean before the great migration transplanted them to Palestine. They were obviously a trained soldiery: at the time of their coming they are represented as marching along the shore, in step, four abreast, guarding their women and goods in ox-drawn carts. Once established in Palestine, Egypt hardly interfered with their dispositions: but from the Biblical account of their activities centred on Michmash it would appear that they patrolled the highlands methodically,

though their patrol-parties are described with characteristic belittlement as marauders. Their sphere was limited, however, as already intimated, to the coastal plains south of Carmel and the adjoining highlands. The old Canaanite zone of Hazor, including Esdraelon and the Jordan valley, remained outside their control.

Though the Biblical narrative gives some idea of how the Philistines carried out their task of policing Palestine, we have hardly any information concerning their home life and social customs. That these differed in several essential particulars from those of the earlier inhabitants and the Israelites has already become apparent from what has been said above. For one thing, the Philistines were non-Semites; and like other northern people of the Iron Age, they seem to have cremated their dead, using for the ashes a selected form of cinerary urn (the crater), which was commonly decorated, like their shields, with a distinctive bird as blazon. We have seen reason to ascribe to them a previous sojourn, though not perhaps an aboriginal home, on the south-west coast of Asia Minor; and there are several legends, heroic and mythological, which link the two areas, particularly Lydia with Askalon. Such little glimpses as we obtain of purely Philistine society tend to confirm the impression that they had come from the Hittite area. The marriage of Samson with a woman of Timnath, while conforming with the *Sadiqa* law, corresponded also with a truly Hittite custom, the wife abiding in the father's house (p. 87). Moreover, the mingling of women with men at the festival of Dagon, described in connexion with the torture of

Samson, reflects the emancipated state of women at that time in Hittite Asia Minor and in Crete, in marked contrast to their status among the western Semites. In the lack of information, however, it is rather to be inferred that the Philistines must have intermarried more and more with native Canaanite and Phœnician families, by which they became submerged as a distinct social entity.

Fresh difficulty confronts us in regard to the Philistines' religion. The reference to a temple of the Ashtaroth where the trophies of Saul (1 Samuel xxxi, 10) were offered may not imply more than that the Philistines respected a native cult, though the same goddess, by the name of Ishtar or Astarte, was widely worshipped throughout Western Asia. We are not told expressly where this shrine was situated, but there are two other deities mentioned by names peculiar to the Philistines' area. The one was Baal-Zebub, whose oracle was found at Ekron, where he was later consulted by the Israelite king, Ahaziah.¹ This fact, and the Semitic name of the deity, indicate a local oracle which was adopted by the Philistines with the town, and survived their occupation. The name means "Baal of Flies," and it would seem to have been an ancient centre of divination by the movement or behaviour of certain flies, for which there is precedent in a Babylonian text, and apt parallel in the folk-lore of many countries.² This cult of the "Prince of Devils" cannot thus be used in illustration of Philistine religious tendencies. The one deity that can be claimed for the Philistines was

¹ 2 Kings i, 2.

² Not excluding Scotland. Cf. Macalister, *Philistines*, pp. 92, 93.

Dagon, and though efforts have been made to find Semitic parallels for the name, the fact that there was a sanctuary of the god at Ashdod as well as the great temple at Gaza, and that the latter was the meeting place of local men and women, as well as all the lords of the Philistines on the occasion of the great sacrifice, confirms the claim of the text that "Dagon" was "their god."¹ The temple must have been a roofed building of considerable size, architecturally unlike those of the country, and it enshrined a statue of the god. Associated with the temple and the cult was an established priesthood. As to the nature of the cult and the attributes of the deity we are left in the dark: we can only conjecture that it was a prototype of the god later called Marna (our lord) at Gaza, to which human sacrifices were still offered in the fourth century A.D.² This deity seems to have been a sky-god, responsible at least for rain, and as such may have been associated with the local form of Astarte (the Ashtaroth) in the dual cult of nature. That Samson was to have been offered as a human sacrifice to this god seems probable, from the fact that after his eyes had been put out his further punishment was reserved for the occasion when "the Lords of the Philistines gathered them together, to offer a great sacrifice unto Dagon their god, and to rejoice."³ It is also possible, as some maintain, that gladiatorial games were to be performed on this occasion; and though

¹ Judges xvi, 23, J.

² Macalister, *op. cit.*, pp. 107 and 91.

³ Judges xvi, 23.

as stated in the narrative¹ three thousand men and women are said to have been waiting upon the roof to watch while Samson made sport, yet it is certain that this crowding of both sexes together under such conditions was quite strange to Semitic practice and recalls rather the theatrical spectacles of Cnossos. ...

Looking back through these pages, we have to recognize that though the Philistines claim more attention in the Bible, the Hittites appear to have been more influential from the sociological standpoint. One important fact differentiates them from the other northern elements: their contact was by land. As already stated,² their infiltration seems to have begun in the patriarchal age, and to have continued intermittently until the time of David,³ thus covering a thousand years. A distinction is to be noted, however, between the earlier and later relations. The former had behind them the weight of an organized and influential society, the leading features of which have been described,⁴ and in consequence made possible the settlement of whole communities. These merged to some extent by intermarriage with other elements of the population, and thus implanted something of their own manners and customs in the land. The later Hittite contact was established under the changed conditions of the Iron Age, after the fall of the Hittite empire, when local "Kings of the Hittites" established themselves on the Syrian side of Taurus. But though these carried on the old Hittite traditions, in particular the warlike spirit, and loom

¹ Judges xvi, 27, J.

² Above, p. 89.

³ 2 Samuel xi, 6.

⁴ Above, p. 78 f.

big in the annals of Israel¹ as a social organization, they lacked unity and weight. Relations with Palestine at this time seem to have been individual, as seen, for example, in the case of Uriah the Hittite, a professional soldier, rather than ethnical or cultural. Nevertheless, there is one aspect of the Hittite contact which invites special consideration, namely, the character and attributes of Teshub, their leading god,² who in various ways resembles the Israelite Yahweh so closely as to be distinguished by us now in little more than name. It is true that a higher conception of God was voiced by the Prophets, and this would take us beyond the period of the early monarchy; but there is a growing conviction that religious ideas no less than political ideals were crystallizing rapidly in Israel in the time of Samuel and Saul while the monarchy was in the making.

¹ 2 Kings vii, 6.

² Cf. above, p. 84.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SETTLING OF THE TRIBES.
1250-1100 B.C.

Conditions in Canaan : first towns occupied. Naphtali and Zebulon : Asher : Manasseh : Issachar : Ephraim : Judah and Dan : Reuben : Gad and Gilead. Political conditions. Social arrangements : communal lands : the law : intermarriage. Religion : assimilation of Cults : primitive survivals : decentralization of Yahweh shrines : origin of solar rites. Summary and note.

PRECEDING chapters have made clear the complex sociological elements present in Canaan at the time when the Israelites began to establish themselves in the land. At no stage in our enquiry, notwithstanding the widespread influence at Hazor at one time in the north, has it been possible as yet to regard the population of Palestine as a single society with common manners and customs, except for such as must be attributed to an earlier source and regarded as indigenous. On the contrary, we have found rather an association of societies whose racial and political differences tended to emphasize rather than reduce the sense of physical disunity inherent in the land.¹ On the near side of Jordan, the

¹ Cf. Chap. II, p. 41 above.

Canaanites and Amorites, Hittites and Horites,¹ supplemented on the sea-board by the Philistines, remained distinct communities, as did the Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites, on the further side, though in this case more nearly akin. So far as can be seen these peoples still retained their divergent tendencies, however much they may have been brought into contact with one another, apparently uninfluenced by the nominal bond of their common vassalage to Egypt. The oriental monarchies, including Egypt, made it no part of their policy to weld their peoples in a sense of loyalty or gratitude to a central throne.² Far from it; whole communities were frequently transplanted and reduced to servitude among an alien people, while those who tilled their own fields did so knowing that the fruits of their labours were liable to be forfeited in large measure under the name of tribute, in reality the price of freedom, or confiscated by a ruthless soldiery. The blessings of peace and liberty can have been enjoyed only at intervals and for short periods by peoples so situated; and it is not surprising that, shorn of their birthright and impoverished, they remained distrustful and disunited.

The coming of the Israelites introduced a new factor which largely accounts, under such conditions, for their ultimate political ascendancy. Not only did they as shepherd nomads reintroduce the waning sense of liberty, which is the undying heritage of desert peoples, but their instincts enabled them to avoid the thrusts of adverse fortune that from time

¹ Or Hivites.

² The united monarchy in Palestine failed under Solomon for the same reasons. See Chap. X below, pp. 338, 390.

to time were directed against the settled population. To the Bedouin also time is of relatively small account ; what cannot be done one year may be accomplished ten years later. So by waiting and watching they found opportunities to establish themselves, until at length (c. 1220 B.C.) they became recognized by the Egyptian archivists as a separate element among the peoples of the country.¹ Even, then, however, they appear still to have dwelt in tents : the stone-girt cities of the country had mostly defied them.² Jericho and Ai had
First cities occupied.
 been destroyed at the time of capture, but only two other relatively small cities of the south, Debir (Kiriath Sepher) and Bethel, are said to have fallen into their hands.³

The first city to be occupied in the north was Kedesh-Naphtali, which overlooks the eastern edge of the Galilean plateau above the Huleh Basin. The evidence is found in an old document, the prose narrative of the defeat of Sisera.⁴ In this we are told that Deborah, a prophetess from near Bethel, sent for Barak "out of Kedesh-Naphtali" to lead the Israelitish tribes ; and that the allusion really involves the city and not merely the surrounding district, appears from the same record in v. 10, wherein Barak is said to have called Zebulun and Naphtali together to Kedesh. In addition to the general suggestion of a wide dispersal of the Israelites throughout the hill-country of Palestine at this time, there is a clear implication of a controlling influence in the north, and freedom of action in the

¹ On the stele of Merneptah : the allusion is probably to the central tribe or group near Shechem. Cf. p. 222.

² Judges i, 27, ff. J.

³ Judges i, 11-13 J, 22-25 J.

⁴ Judges iv, 6 E.

town of Kedesh-Naphtali itself. In view of our contention that the Israelites, though in the process of settling, were still partly nomadic, this development comes somewhat as a surprise thus early in the Book of Judges, especially since in Chap. I there appears a list of towns which the various tribes had not been able to occupy before Joshua's death, and among them are named two,¹ Beth Shemesh and Beth Anath, which defied the tribe of Naphtali. It is true that the name Kedesh does not appear in this context, but there is little doubt that Kedesh, *the Sanctuary*, and Beth Shemesh, *House of the Sun-God*, represent one and the same place; for the site of Kedesh, which is well-known, is unique in this respect that its later ruins bear unmistakeable witness to the existence there of an important solar cult and temple, and the persistence of local shrines is one of the permanent factors in the archaeology of the Near East.²

That Kedesh Naphtali was in fact one of the first cities to be occupied may be readily explained by reference to the Egyptian archives; for Seti I is said to have wrested Kedesh from its Amorite inhabitants and devastated its lands, in the course of a northern campaign early in his reign. The representation of the

Naphtali
and
Zebulun.

¹ Judges i, 33, J.

² In the course of fairly extensive explorations on the upper Galilean plateau the present writer only found one other Bronze Age mound, El Kurbah (*mod.* El Khurbah), at the head of the Wady Farah. The old theory that the text implies a migration of Naphtali from the South on the supposition that Beth Shemesh should be located at Ain Shems in the Shephelah, fails to satisfy the conditions of the problem, leaving Beth Anath still unplaced and the solar ruins of Kedesh without explanation. Cf. *Joshua: Judges*, pp. 244-5, 279.

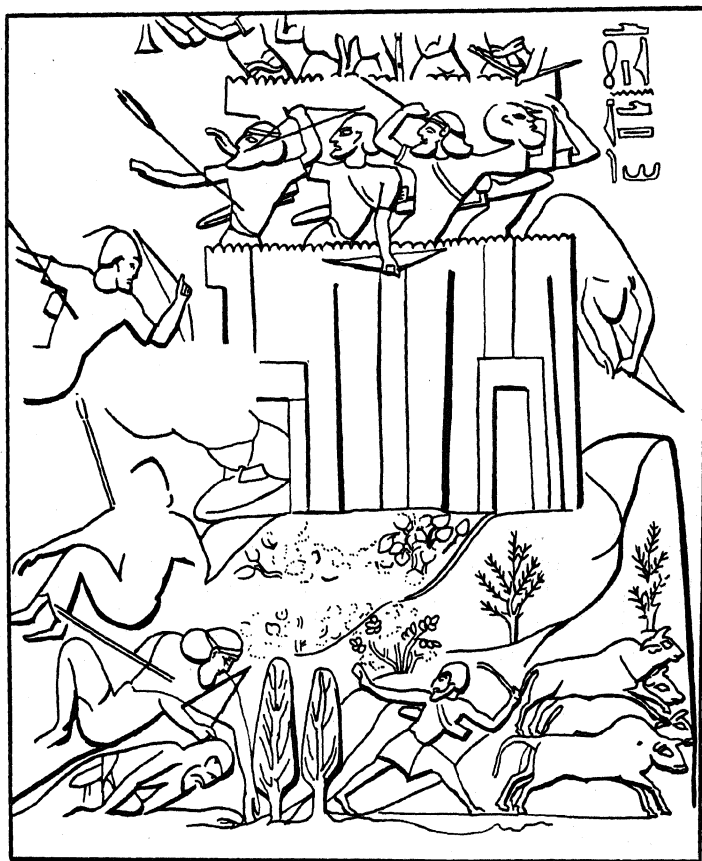
city itself as perched on rocky heights amid cultivation, trees, and pastures,¹ conforms well with its known situation in a small fertile area on the eastern scarp of the Galilean hills. Thereafter for precisely 80 years, from Seti's ninth year of campaigning until the end of the reign of Rameses II, approximately 1306-1226 B.C., we find no further trace of troubles in the Galilean area, and the records of Israel affirm that the land had rest fourscore years.² To this period may be ascribed an independent allusion to Zebulun in the tablets of Ras Shamra. It is clear that both the tribes of Naphtali and Zebulun made full use of this opportunity to establish themselves in the highlands of Galilee, where walled cities were few, so that in response to Deborah's call they were able to muster ten thousand fighting men, and took a leading part in the cause of Israel's reunion.

Notwithstanding the progress of settlement in the north, most other areas of Palestine were too strongly defended for Israel to be able to do more than continue to play the rôle of Bedouin, and adopt the slower process of peaceful penetration. Thus on the Galilean coast the tribe of Asher, one of the earliest to claim mention in the archives of Egypt and the tablets of Ras Shamra, found itself confronted by a large array of impregnable towns, including³ Acco (Acre), Ahlab, Achzib (El Zib), Helbah, Aphek, and Rehob, to-day represented by numerous deserted mounds rising like sentinels of the past above the coastal

¹ Cf. Breasted, *Anct. Rec.*, iii, 141, and his note on p. 71; also *Joshua : Judges*, pp. 243, 273, with fig. 4 and plate lxi, a.

² Judges iii, 30, E.

³ According to Judges i, 31, 32, J.



A CANAANITE STRONGHOLD

KEDESH NAPHTALI IN UPPER GALILEE

CAPTURED FROM ITS CANAANITE INHABITANTS BY SETI I: c. 1310 B.C.

plain ; so that the Asherites perforce " dwelt among the Canaanites the inhabitants of the land," and defaulted in the decisive battle :

*Asher sat still at the haven of the sea
And abode by his creeks.*

There is, indeed, reason to suspect that the Asherites were from the first only a nominal element in the Israelitish agglomeration, and became early estranged ; in fact, they are described already in the Ras Shamra tablets as in conflict with Zebulun, and they shared little, if at all, in the later fortunes of the tribes. Their name, however, was perpetuated by Solomon's administration.¹

In the heart of Palestine, the row of strong cities that from olden times had formed the southern frontier of Canaan in Esdraelon and Jezreel, including

Manasseh. Megiddo, Taanach, Ibleam, and Bethshan, had from the first proved an in-

superable barrier to the northerly progress of Manasseh, so that this sub-tribe had to seek territory in the wooded slopes between Mt. Gilboa and Shechem, and eventually pushed eastward towards the Jordan. Their progress in this direction is clearly indicated by words put into the mouth of Joshua :² " The hill country shall be thine ; for though it is a forest thou shalt cut it down, and the goings out shall be thine." Once in possession of the passes descending to the valley they would command the isolated site of Hamath (today Tell Hammeh), which lies on the western bank almost opposite to Pella, then called Fahel ; and it may

¹ See below, p. 341.

² Joshua xvii, 17-18, J.

well have been their activities in attempting to establish their position astride the Jordan that called forth the Pharaoh Seti I, to protect his settled vassals of Bethshan and district, as we learn from an Egyptian inscription discovered in excavation of the last-named site.¹ In any case the easterly expansion of this tribe is confirmed by later history, and ultimately secured for them territory in Gilead on the eastern plateau, as well as the intervening lowlands in the Jordan rift. The latter area is suitable only for nomads, and as such we must still regard this tribe at the time of Sisera's menace. Gilead, in fact, made no response to Deborah's call though Mâchîr, the offshoot of Manasseh, was represented.² It is not till a century later, in the time of Jephthah, that we find Gilead linked up with Israel's fortunes³; while even on the near side, in the heart of the wooded hills allotted to Manasseh, the town of Thebez still seems to have been in the hands of the indigenous Perizzites in the age of Abimelech.⁴ None the less, Barak's victory established the position of this tribe no less than others, and facilitated their settlement. Thus Joash, the father of Gideon (c. 1150 B.C.) is seen⁵ to have secured so much influence in the village of Ophrah (possibly today Sileh, on the highroad between

¹ Cf. *Joshua : Judges*, pp. 270 ff.

² Judges v, 17, E. According to tradition (1 Chron. vii, 18), Abiezer was a nephew of Mâchîr, the son of Manasseh. It was Mâchîr who was the "father of Gilead"; and the passages quoted suggest that the settlement of this sub-tribe east of Jordan did not become effective until the latter half of the twelfth century B.C.

³ Judges xi, 1, 5, 6, 7, etc.

⁴ Judges ix, 50, E.

⁵ Judges vi, 24-27, E.

Samaria and Dothan) that Gideon was able to break down the local altar of Baal with its associated Asherah, and to set up an altar to Yahweh, without the inhabitants daring to carry out their threat of punishment. At the same time, nothing suggests that Joash and his co-religionists actually lived in the village, though they possessed property in the village area¹: the implication is clear² that it was only at a later time that the village itself passed into their hands, and became known as Ophrah of the Abiezrites.

The tribes already mentioned, namely Asher, Zebulun and Naphtali, rallied to the call of Gideon, the chosen leader of Manasseh, against the common menace of the Midianite incursion.³ This inroad of desert hordes was of the nature of a migration, doubtless set in movement by a period of drought in Arabia, and it introduced the camel as a means of transport. These nomads were evidently poorly armed, otherwise they could hardly have been stampeded by three hundred men, though doubtless their relative unfamiliarity with the camel contributed to the success of Gideon's stratagem. Incidentally, the narrative tells that the Israelites were sowing crops, as do most semi-nomads. It also leaves the tribe of Issachar conspicuously out of the picture. This is not surprising. Their situation to the

Issachar.

east of Esdraelon under the shadow of the strongest walled cities in the country, though the

¹ Judges vi, 11, J.

² From v. 24.

³ Judges vi, 3, f. The Amalekites, though associated with the Midianites in the text, presumably pressed in by way of the southern deserts. For a modern illustration of a similar movement, *see* above, p. 140.

choicest area of all for nomadic life, had from the first been devoid of all hope of territorial rights, much less of political independence, while subsequent developments must have made it almost impossible even to keep their footing. The text of the Bible reflects this situation clearly: "Rejoice . . . Issachar in thy tents" was Moses' blessing.¹ There is conspicuous silence as to their fortunes in the early chapters in the Book of Judges, but their plight is frankly described in the words attributed in the Book of Genesis² to Jacob:

. . . *He saw a resting place that it was good,
And the land that it was pleasant;
And he bowed his shoulder to bear
And became a servant under taskwork* (J).

None the less, before Sisera's menace to Israel's unity, the leaders of Issachar are said to have rallied round Barak and Deborah³: it was their only chance of freedom. But the subsequent inroad of the Midianites and their desert associates clearly drove them out of their adopted pasturages and temporarily dispersed them, so that they could contribute no noteworthy unit to Gideon's force. Nevertheless the name of the tribe survived in later history, so that presumably it became re-established in some part of its allotted territory after the passing of the storm. It is clear, however, that its settling must have been interrupted by these events, and even as late as the age of Saul the key position of Bethshan remained independent of Israelite control, whether of Issachar or Manasseh.⁴

¹ Deuteronomy xxxiii, 18, J.

² Genesis xlix, 15.

³ Judges v, 15, E.

⁴ 1 Samuel xxxi, 12.

Looking now towards the south, we find the process of settling to have been relatively slow. The principal tribe of Ephraim had secured for itself

Ephraim. readily enough the hill country between

Bethel and Shechem,¹ where there is no trace of any contemporary towns.² But Shechem itself, though peopled by a kindred stock with whom the Israelites freely intermarried,³ still remained under the control of its original population in the days of Abimelech, late in the twelfth century B.C.⁴ Bethel, however, was in Israelitish hands ; while the Horite or Hivite group of cities, including Beeroth and Gibeon, was secured to them by alliance, and thus helped to protect their southern border. Shiloh, occupying a central position in Ephraim, became the chief sanctuary of the people ; and the Ark, the central feature of the cult of Yahweh, was enshrined there in a special Tent.⁵ The place bears trace of occupation during this period.

On the outskirts of Shechem, by Balata, where Joshua had established his headquarters,⁶ there grew a venerable oak tree which from the days of the patriarchs had formed a central feature of a local sanctuary of Baal-Berîth, Lord of the Oath, much revered by the Israelites themselves.⁷ At some date this shrine seems in fact to have been adopted by them, and devoted to Yahweh ; and we are led to suppose⁸ that this assimilation had taken

¹ Joshua xviii, 10, JE, xxiv, 1, E.

² Cf. also Albright : *Bull. A.S.O.R.*, 35, p. 6. ff.

³ On this matter, *see* what is said below, p. 273.

⁴ Judges ix, 1, E.

⁵ Joshua xviii, 1, P. Cf. Quarterly Dept. Atq. Pal., iii, p. 180.

⁶ Joshua xxiv, 1, 25, E.

⁷ Judges viii, 33, R.E.

⁸ Joshua xxiv, 26, E.

place in the days of Joshua, who is said to have taken a great stone and set it up there "under the

oak that was by the sanctuary of Yahweh." It is true that the kinship of the Ephraim's headquarters.

Israelites with the people of the place, dating from the age of the patriarchs, makes it possible that Joshua obtained from them special privileges. But so long as the Shechemites maintained their political ascendancy the name of the god would surely remain unchanged and his identity distinct. This problem admits of a ready, if theoretical, solution. At the time of Joshua's entry into Shechem, when the Habiru movement was in full flood, it is conceivable that the Israelites did for a while obtain control of the place and the sanctuary. In this connexion the report¹ that Labaya and all the Lands of Shechem had ceded to the Habiru, addressed to the Pharaoh at that time by his loyal vassal in Jerusalem, may refer particularly to that fact; for the dates of the two events coincide, and the Israelite invasion must have seemed to the inhabitants like a part of the greater Hebrew movement from the north. This state of things, that is to say, the temporary domination of the Israelites, may indeed have endured for some time. It is not to be forgotten that the Ephraimites could claim Egyptian parentage on their mother's side,² a fact which may have facilitated arrangements with the Pharaoh's representative on the spot.³ In this way would be explained the mention of Israel and the

¹ Amarna Letter, Kn. 289. See above, p. 289.

² Gen. xl, 50, 52, E.

³ E.g., possibly at Shechem, in the person of Zebul, the "ruler of the City" (Judges ix, 30, E).

omission of Shechem in the list of places and peoples punished by Merneptah, and at the same time the removal of Israel's headquarters back to Shiloh¹, where stood the Ark. However that may be, it is clear that in the age of Abimelech, at the close of the twelfth century B.C., the Israelites, though settled in the neighbourhood and forming an accepted element in the population, were not in control of Shechem, where on the other hand resided a preponderant anti-Israelitish faction.² Nor has exploration disclosed in the hill country of Ephraim any new walled town or village that might be attributed to the Ephraimite occupation of the area at that time.³ It seems clear that the Israelites still abode in tents here as elsewhere.

To the south and west the inability of the Israelites to capture the great towns is candidly admitted in the records. On the coastal plain Gezer barred the way of Ephraim in that direction,⁴ and it was not in fact occupied by Israel until handed over by the Pharaoh to Solomon.⁵ Jerusalem on the heights remained proof against the pressure of

Judah. Judah and their Kenite allies,⁶ and only fell in the time of David.⁷ It may safely be said that so long as these two key positions remained independent, the progress of Judah's expansion and settlement in the south remained

¹ Joshua seems to have transferred his headquarters late in his life from Shiloh to Shechem (Joshua xxiv, E). The misplaced passages, Joshua viii, 30 ff., though representing a later tradition, seem to offer confirmation of this fact.

² Judges ix, 28, E, etc.

³ So also Albright, *Ann. A.S.O.R.* IV, and *Bull.* 11, 19.

⁴ Judges i, 29, J.

⁵ I Ki., ix, 16; below, p. 339.

⁶ T.A. letters Kn. 287, 289, *Joshua: Judges*, 218 f.

⁷ II Sam. v, 6 f.

correspondingly restrained.¹ Further South at Hebron and Debir it was the Kenite ally, Caleb, who was credited with success in capturing those towns,² and the southern tribes, in particular Judah and Simeon,³ had evidently great difficulty in securing a foothold. The latter indeed remained purely nomadic upon the borders of the Negeb, and finally disappeared from history, absorbed by the deserts. Judah, in addition to the local difficulties, was further harassed by repeated raids from beyond Jordan and from the south-eastern deserts, described in the early chapters of the Book of Judges as "oppressions." Later they were held in check by the presence of the Philistines on the coastal plains, and by the measures these war-trained northerners took to maintain order on the highlands;⁴ so that ultimately those men of Judah who had chosen the district of the Shephelah as their habitat, found it best to submit and recognize the Philistines as having rule over them. At the north end of the Philistine plain, the strong city of Gezer, as already mentioned, proved from the first to be a thorn in the flesh of Israelite ambitions; indeed, notwithstanding Joshua's tactical victory by Gibeon, and his pursuit of the Amorite chieftains from the battlefield to the valley of Aijalon, no Israelitish tribe managed to establish itself in that coveted area, until it was surrendered to Israel under the monarchy.⁵

Dan. The tribe of Dan, in particular, was compelled to return to the hills and ultimately migrated to the extreme north,⁶ where

¹ See also below, pp. 293, 345 f.

² Jud. i, 10 f., J; cf. Jos. xiv, 13 f., R.C.

³ Cf. Albright, J.P.O.S. iv, p. 151, with map.

⁴ Above, pp. 238 f.

⁵ See below, Chap. x, p. 342.

⁶ Jos. xix, 47, J.; Jud. xviii, 1-29, J. & E.

it found a home under the shadow of Mount Hermon in the north-east corner of the Huleh Basin. This movement can hardly have taken place during the supremacy of Hazor; indeed Sidon though more distant is mentioned in terms which suggest that it was the leading power in that region at the time, which may therefore be assigned to the twelfth century B.C.

Summing up the situation briefly, we may say that with the exception of Bethel and Kedesh-Naph-tali, and admitting some special arrangement at Shechem, no walled towns were occupied by the Israelites previous to the decisive victory over the Canaanites about 1200 B.C.; nor is there any indication of their having built for themselves new villages. They remained to this date, then, half nomadic, seeking their pastures within a limited radius from their tents, and raising a rain crop of cereals in such spots as they could acquire, but not building for themselves permanent homes nor attempting agriculture after the manner of the settled population. During the twelfth century B.C., however, as the Canaanite organization weakened and Egyptian authority declined, there are indications of a growing tendency to seize the opportunity to settle, coupled with a renewed effort on the part of the northern tribes to retain their ancient brotherhood in arms when threatened by a common danger.

As for the country beyond Jordan, traditionally allocated to Reuben, Gad and half Manasseh,¹

Trans- everything points to the conclusion that
Jordan: previous to 1150 B.C., none of these tribes
Reuben. could have established themselves in
 their allotted areas. The successive raids by the

¹ Jos. xiii, 7, 8, R.D.

Moabites and Midianites and Amalekites,¹ and later again, in the age of Jephthah, by the Ammonites,² show clearly that the offensive throughout this time lay with those older established peoples, who obviously would be disposed to resist any attempt to encroach upon their territory. Under Gideon, however, the Israelites, as already stated, began to assert themselves, at first by uniting to resist invasion, and then by carrying the war into the enemy's country. The pursuit by Gideon to the Wady Sirhan of the retreating Midianites³ seems to have gained a definite strategic advantage for Israel beyond Jordan; for on the next occasion the call of Jephthah from Gilead to lead the Israelites shows that Manasseh (or maybe Gad) had at last secured a footing in the northern area;⁴ while Jephthah's subsequent campaigns were calculated to re-establish in the south the prestige which had been waning since the time of Joshua's exploits, thus restoring the opportunity for Reuben and Gad to establish themselves on that side of Jordan. Circumstances and environment determined, as to-day, that the southern tribe should remain pastoral, and its fate is reflected in the so-called Blessing of Moses:

*Let Reuben live, let him not die,
But let his men be very few.*⁵

Though traditionally the first-born tribal son of Israel, Reuben thus disappeared like Simeon from

¹ Judges iii, 12, 13 E. ; vi, 1. J E.

² Judges x, 7. J E.

³ Judges viii, 10 ff. E. Cf. *Joshua : Judges*, p. 323, with map.

⁴ Judges xi, 1. J.

⁵ Deuteronomy xxxiii, 6.

active participation in the fortunes of the settling tribes.¹ Gad, on the other hand, possessed of the tract by the Jabbok which to-day is cultivated,² developed greatly, and seems ultimately to have overrun Gilead, even at the expense of Manasseh, "Blessed is he that enlargeth Gad."³ Nevertheless, this tribe also seems to have long remained nomadic and pastoral; for it is not until the reign of Saul that we find Israelites occupying the town of Jabesh Gilead,⁴ though it should be observed that on the Moabite stone (ninth century B.C.) they are said to have dwelt within the town of Ashtaroth from of old. Gad played an active rôle in Israel's destiny, particularly in the time of Saul and David.

Gad
and
Gilead.

*And he came with the heads of the people ;
He executed the justice of the Lord,
And his judgements with Israel.*

With the foregoing sketch of the progress of Israel's settlement in mind, we now pass on, first to summarize the political conditions, and then to examine the structure of Society resulting from this occupation. It is to be recognized at the outset that we cannot secure anything like a complete picture of these times: on the one hand, the materials are too scanty and disconnected; and on the other, the bare facts of the historical situation which we have reviewed disclose a phase of incompleteness between several racial elements, each of which retained or

Political
conditions.

¹ See, however, below, on the possible relation of Reuben to the Pelethites, p. 350.

² Cf. above, p. 45.

³ Deuteronomy xxxiii, 20.

⁴ 1 Samuel xi, 1 ff.

was striving to assert its individual tendencies and customs.

In the north the framework of the Canaanite organization still existed. Strong places like Bethshan, Taanach, Megiddo and Achshaph¹ still reared their heads in solitary defiance; but the co-ordination was loose, and the expedient of employing a foreign mercenary like Sisera to hold the frame together discloses the weakness of its central power at Hazor. This decline, though doubtless accelerated by the blows delivered on the capital city by the Israelites and the H̄abiru,² was the inevitable result of the Egyptian policy of intimidation and spoliation pursued through several centuries, and was now precipitated by the withdrawal of Egyptian protection owing to internal discord.

Under the Pharaohs of the XVIIIth Dynasty, except in the age of Akhenaton, the long series of imperial campaigns had in effect largely removed the danger of aggression from without; and during the Hittite wars of the XIXth Dynasty a determined effort had been made by Seti I and Rameses II, and later by Merneptah, to recover Egypt's territory and prestige in southern Syria, even adding to their organization a naval force to resist the new menace of the Sea-Rovers. The records of Israel, usually silent as to the Pharaoh's demonstrations of power, acknowledged deliverance at the hands of Ben Anath,³ who can hardly be any other than

¹ Deut. xxxiii, 21, *cf.* Rev. d'Ass. xix, p. 98.

² *Cf.* T.A. letter, Kn. 227. "Let my lord the King recall all that Hazor and its King have already had to endure." The present writer is drawn to the impression that Joshua in his amazing exploit by the "Waters of Merom," may have acted in concert with the advancing H̄abiru.

³ Jud. iii, 31.

Rameses' sea captain ; but the greatest expedition, that of Rameses III to resist the coming of the Philistines and their comrades soon after 1200 B.C., marked the supreme effort of Egypt to retain her empire.

In the last resort, the Pharaoh was constrained to rely on mercenary garrisons, planting the Philistines, as was seen in the last chapter,¹ upon the coastal plains, with doubtless other foreign outposts at key positions like Beisan and Jericho, at both of which have been found traces of northern intruders.² Between these two organizations, the Canaanite in the north-east and the Philistine in the south-west of the country respectively, are to be seen the remnants of the old populations still in possession of their towns, with the Israelites gradually gaining rights upon their lands. Local conflicts of policy, political and religious, in the eleventh century B.C., disclose the towns as disunited, and the Israelites as gaining the ascendancy. Such conditions evidently make it impossible to speak of a common political organization. Each element in the population, and each big town, managed its own affairs according to its established order, which has already been separately described.³

The defeat of the Canaanites under Sisera by the united northern tribes of Israel marks a turning point in the political situation. From that date, about 1200 B.C., the initiative in matters of common weal and external safety became more and more the prerogative of the Israelites ; in particular, as we have seen, the leaders of Ephraim, Manasseh,

¹ Above, p. 233.

² *Mus. Journ.* Philadelphia 22, p. 42 ; *Liv. A.A.*, xx, p. 42.

³ In Chap. IV above : especially pp. 103 ff.

and Gilead (be it Gad or Manasseh) took steps to ward off common danger, with the support of neighbouring tribesmen and possibly even of the more friendly townsfolk. Finally, under Jephthah, Israel attained another step in the bid for leadership, discussing foreign affairs with the King of Ammon in diplomatic correspondence of which an illuminative *précis* has been happily preserved¹ and gives a valuable extract from contemporary history.

Inquiry into the social organization of Palestine at this time is subject to much the same considerations. Evidently each branch of the community would still retain its racial or ancestral customs, laws and religion. These have been discussed in Chapters IV to VII as they appear from an independent standpoint. Modifications would, however, develop with the gradual coalescence of the Israelitish element. The first stage in the settling of Israel would involve the acquisition of lands, and since there was no question of general conquest, this must have been effected in other ways. At the most, the moral effect of Joshua's initial campaigns and negotiations had been to secure grazing rights throughout the centre and the north, and the tribes dispersed with the object of making good their claims. In addition, there seem to have been large areas of unappropriated lands. The whole of the hill country between the Hivite (or Horite) tetrapolis and the territory of Shechem, bounded by the Wady Kanah, seems to have been uninhabited, to judge by the rarity of Bronze Age remains; and this fell to the lot of Ephraim. It contains admirable grazing ground for

**Social
arrange-
ments.**

¹ Judges xi, 12 ff.

goats and hardy sheep, while some spots have since proved favourable for agriculture and the vine. North of Shechem again, as already indicated,¹ there stretched away eastwards acres of unredeemed woodlands, harbouring here and there scanty groups of Perizzite settlers: this territory was developed, as we know, by Manasseh. The House of Joseph, the central group of the movement and organization, thus acquired territory at the outset; and in the vicinity of Shechem itself, Joshua's prestige, coupled with ancestral associations, secured exceptional privileges, if not some territorial rights.

In the north, as we have observed, the parts of Galilee occupied by Zebulun and Naphtali were also largely undeveloped, and after the destruction of the two strongholds which had barred their way, it is only necessary to assume a sufficient payment of tribute to the Pharaoh's emissaries for these tribes to have secured a permanent territorial footing in those areas. Elsewhere, in the vicinity of the greater towns, the process was slower and more difficult; but the illustration quoted earlier in this volume in the case of the Meribateen² shows how easy it is in the East for servants to become masters and masters slaves. That a similar process—the reward, perhaps, for service or military protection—accounts in a measure for Israel's gradual encroachment on the town-lands is strongly suggested in the case of Gideon and his family's relations with Ophrah.

The original basis of land tenure in Palestine, in ancient and modern times, was unquestionably

¹ P. 25.

² P. 218.

communal. The same may be said of many primitive communities, but the principle was likely to be particularly tenacious in Palestine owing to its proximity to the Arabian deserts from which its population has been continually refreshed. Among the Bedouin, boundaries are unknown and each man has an equal claim upon the pasturage and water within the area commanded by his tribe. The idea of keeping a cow tied by the leg while eating its daily ration, familiar enough in intensively cultivated lands like Egypt or France, is entirely foreign to Bedouin conditions, with whom the pasturage though sparse is wide and free. In practice the grazing is organized by clans and their sub-divisions, and each member contributes some service in person or by proxy to the common tasks. Among the semi-nomads, who sow and reap, the same principle is observed. So in Palestine, among the settled population of to-day all the members of a small village, or a family group from the larger towns, work their lands in common, though each owns his portion, and receives his due proportion of the yield. Division of the land, with the setting up of fences, arises, under such conditions, not so much for the purpose of establishing an individual claim to ownership, as for protection, against goats and robbers, of the fruits of more intensive cultivation, such as young forests, vineyards, and orchards.

Such allusions as throw light on this matter in the ancient records suggest that the same communal system prevailed in Canaan before the coming of Israel, and it was at once and unquestionably adopted by the Israelites. With them it involved obviously a vital principle, affecting the unity of the

people, as well as the liberties of the individual. It was only in the later history of land tenure, when the development of agriculture and the monarchical system with its social changes had led to the sub-dividing of the soil, that the inalienable right of each citizen to the ownership of his parcel of ground was recognized, as is attested by numerous Biblical passages. Among these, as examples, may be recalled the story of Naboth's vineyard,¹ and more generally the legal checks against the alienation of the poor man's portion,² the social obligation on the richer relative of redeeming such threatened loss of birthright,³ and the warnings of the prophets against the enrichment of individuals at the expense of the community.⁴ "Woe unto those that join house to house and field to field."

The settling of the Israelites in the neighbourhood of existing towns, or in new villages of their own construction, introduced inevitably a profound change in their social organization by separating them into smaller units. It is true that the Bedouin system by which the tribe consists of clans, sub-divided by family groups,⁵ the dominant factor being always the nearness of kinship, already provided the elements of such a change. In the course of years of peregrination in search of pasture this facility of decentralization is frequently called

**Family
units.**

¹ 1 Kings. xxi.

² Leviticus xxv, 25 ff; Cf Numbers xxvii, 1; Deuteronomy xxvii, 17.

³ Ruth iv, 3; Leviticus xxv, 25, etc.

⁴ Isaiah v, 8.

⁵ Among the Arabs the Tribe, called *Qabîleh*, is subdivided by the Clan, *Ashîyeh*; the family group, *Hamooleh*; and ultimately the Family or *Aîleh*.

into visible operation, but periodically the dispersed units reassemble in part or as a whole. Under the new conditions, since it was physically impossible for all the elements of a clan to share a limited village pasture, the subdivision became permanent: the family, or family group, tended more and more to replace the clan as the social unit, and each family sought and worked independently such territory as it could acquire. The more settled they became, the more they tended to become independent and self-contained; as witness the family settlement of Joash, the father of Gideon, on the outskirts of Ophrah, with its own plough lands and threshing floor, and its local altar of Yahweh, the national god.¹ If it be urged that this case may have been exceptional, since few others are described, it is to be recognized from the *fait accompli* in later times, that the process was steadily at work, though varying probably in degree.

Tribal organization broke down entirely at this stage, and no central authority of political character replaced it. The great rally of accessible tribes under Barak took place while the people were still mostly nomadic, and the call was issued by a prophetess of Yahweh. Later coalitions, like those formed under special circumstances by local leaders such as Gideon and Jephthah, were joined only by the tribes threatened by a common danger.² They do not show the existence of a permanent offensive and defensive arrangement binding all or a number of the tribes: on the contrary, Ephraim, one of the leading tribes in Joshua's time and the centre of

¹ Judges vi, 11, 25 f.

² Above, p. 255.

authority, was apparently not consulted on these occasions.¹ The unity of Israel was at stake: the only visible surviving bond was in the central sanctuary of Yahweh at Shiloh, the Ark of the Covenant, with the Sacred Stones and ineffaceable associations. "In those days there was no king in Israel."²

It is already evident that, at this stage of Israel's settling, with the disappearance of all semblance of centralized authority, whether political, or military, or theocratic, and the disruptive changes in the social organization, the fate of the nation lay in the balance; and it became a question whether the Israelites, like many other settlers, would be absorbed by environment, or whether the religion and cult of Yahweh, the sole remaining bond between the people, would prove sufficiently powerful and well planted to survive these adverse circumstances. Yet two further issues, incidental to the process of settling under peaceable conditions, also threatened their national integrity, the one social and the other religious. Both dangers are recognized frequently in the oldest passages of the Book of Judges, and the situation is succinctly described in Chap. III, v. 5. "The children of Israel dwelt [in the north] among the Canaanites the Hittites and the Amorites, and [in the centre] the Perizzites, and [in the south] the Hivite and the Jebusite. 6. And they took their daughters to be their wives and gave their own daughters to their sons, and served their gods. 7. . . . and forgot Yahweh their god, and served the Baalim and the Asheroth."

A preliminary observation is apposite at this point.

¹ Judges viii, 1, J, xi, 1, JE.

² Judges xvii, 6; xviii, 1, etc.

The passage quoted not only throws a vivid light upon the social arrangement of the period, but reveals the Israelites in policy and in practice as a law-abiding people, seeking to establish good and peaceable relations with the older populations, even at the peril of their separate identity. There is a total absence in the records of any suggestion of personal friction or local disturbance. The conflict with the forces of Sisera broke the peace, it is true, but it was national and political in purpose, and it secured for Israel the right to settle. Thereafter for nearly a century, while the settling was in active progress, the local calm seems to have remained everywhere unbroken until disturbed around Shechem by the bid of Abimelech for power.¹ This movement again was political rather than social or personal, and could hardly affect other areas, though it foreshadowed the ultimate ascendancy of Israel. That the Israelites though newcomers and outsiders did in fact succeed in this evident policy of peaceful penetration, argues conclusively that they knew and carefully observed the laws of the land, and had consequently modified their desert laws to that end. Clearly this result was not haphazard; and its general success could only have been attained by careful preparation and common instruction in the new law, at a time when Israel was still united. The Biblical narrative avers that this was done under Moses while the tribes were awaiting the opportunity of entering the land.² In the previous chapter we examined the laws attributed to him and found that

Observance
of the
Law.

¹ Judges ix, E.

² Deuteronomy i, 5.

they embody modifications of customary and desert laws designed to meet the specific case of Israel's settlement in Canaan. The issue removes all doubt as to the historicity of the tradition.

Coming now to the policy of intermarriage, we recall the precedent of the patriarchs: the "marriages" of Abraham and his descendants¹ with

Inter-
marriage
with the
Canaanites.

Hittite, Canaanite, Arabian, and even Egyptian wives have a broader ethnical significance, and reflect a custom which was both established and, no doubt, reciprocal. It is true that, according to the legends, Aramæan wives were brought from the old home of Harrañ, but this custom affected only the main line. So, the population of the land in general, apart from a few isolated racial groups, may be regarded as already embodying and acknowledging a strong element of kinship with the Israelites. The resumption of the traditional relations is seen in the fact that the mother of Abimelech was a townswoman of Shechem; and the young aspirant to kingship, in his political address to the members of her family and others, urges his claim with the words "I am your bone and your flesh."² It is evident that importance was given to the fusion of stock which was taking place, and which resulted in the ascendancy of Israel, the more virile race.

That the Israelites intermarried freely with the older population yet maintained the inherited determination to preserve their race is well illustrated by the otherwise crude legend of the disaster that befell the tribe of Benjamin, decimated for its

¹ Genesis xxvi, 34, P, xxxvi, 2, P, xxv, 1-3, J, 12 P, xli, 45, E.

² Judges ix, 1-3, E.

crimes.¹ The story reveals the deliberate intention of the clan to secure wives of an unrelated stock, the greater number being procured by a raid beyond Jordan from Jabesh Gilead, evidently not yet peopled by the Israelites themselves, while others were seized when dancing at a festival near Shiloh. Underlying such episodes is an obvious eugenic instinct for preserving the virility of the race as well as its numbers, even at the expense of the purity of its blood. Provision had already been made against the possibility of childless marriages, as seen in the stories of the patriarchs, and the legal obligations on the next-of-kin under the levirate regulation in the case of a childless widow.² "Be fruitful and multiply" was the watchword of Israel, and the key to their ultimate possession of the land. It may safely be said that when the monarchy at last united the population under a common rule, the process of assimilation and coalition was practically complete and all acute racial differences eliminated. No other explanation can be offered of the rapid and vast increase in the population numbered as Israelites in the Davidic census.

An exception seems to have been made with regard to intermarriage and other social relations with the Philistines,³ though these also tend to disappear as a community at the end of David's reign. It is true that Samson took a wife from among the Philistines, but she was clearly one of the local people, though domiciled within the Philistine territory, The Philistines, as already shown in Chapter VII.

¹ Judges xx, xxi.

² Genesis xvi, 2, J; xxxviii, 8, J; Deuteronomy xxv, 5-10.

³ Cf. Judges xiv, 3, J.

occupied an unusual position ; and, doubtless acting under orders, held themselves aloof from the domestic affairs of the interior. At their first coming they were accompanied by womenfolk ; and it seems possible that after their settlement in the coastal towns, they re-established contact with their own people and were from time to time reinforced from overseas, though there is no record of the fact. Certainly from their position of authority they could readily have secured wives from the locality, but there is no suggestion of general intermarriage to be found in the Bible. They remained from first to last a foreign community and military caste, maintaining their solitary *rôle*, while their adversaries increased in unity and numbers.

With these considerations in mind, we pass to the other vital issue consequent upon the settling of the Israelites upon friendly terms with the older population, namely, the threatened submergence of their national religion, the cult of Yahweh. There is no doubt as to the facts, that gradually as

**Assimilation
of cults.** they approached the villages and towns the Israelites became more and more tolerant of the local cults of the Baals and Ashtoreths to the apparent neglect of their national God. This was the natural consequence of changing circumstances and environment. The local Baal was the territorial lord, who controlled the fortunes of the village, assured the crops and protected the flocks and herds. If things went wrong, those who had failed to propitiate him were blameworthy and would incur the censure of the whole community. So that it became inevitable, under the circumstances of their settling, for the Israelites to pay the cus-

tomary tribute and in the end openly to perform the acts which constituted the worship of these gods. An exact parallel in the inverse sense is recorded in the case of the later Samaritan settlers who replaced the exiled Israelites, and were menaced by lions, a consequence which they themselves attributed to their neglect to propitiate the local gods.¹

The reality of this unconscious assimilation is attested in various ways, notably by the adoption of theophoric names compounded with Baal, like Jerubbaal for Gideon. This seems to have been done in all innocence; for even Saul, a devout Yahwist, called one of his sons Ish-baal, Jonathan had one named Meribaal, and David one Baaljada.² Doubtless in the developed Israelitish view Yahweh was regarded as The Baal, and such names were tolerated as being conciliatory to the other elements of the community; but in later times such compounds became regarded by purists as the mark of heathenism, so that even the text was modified—Jerubbaal, for instance, being replaced by Jerubbeseth, and Ishbaal by Ishbosheth.³ It is even suggested by Kittel that the spirit of conciliation went so far as the naming of the first-born son after Yahweh and the younger after Baal, and examples seem to support this interpretation.⁴

This acceptance by the Israelites of the local cults, and their participation in the village festivals associated therewith, was naturally regarded with misgiving by the more zealous Yahwists, who attributed

¹ 2 Kings xvii, 24-8.

² 1 Chronicles viii, 33, 34; xiv, 7.

³ Cf. Burney, Judges vi, 32, and Moore, *Int. Crit. Comm.*, *ad loc.*

⁴ Cf. *Great Men and Movements in Israel*, pp. 76-77.

the numerous set-backs in their national and religious aspirations to this cause. To them Yahweh, though not the only God, (for they admitted the rights of others to their gods), was the one and only God for Israel. Yahweh typified the nation. Devotion to him spelt unity; to follow him heralded success; and the secret hope of some had been, from the beginning, the extermination under his leadership of all who had not adopted the faith. Though time had proved the impossibility of success by force, the apparent neglect of Yahweh by the mass of the people did not in fact prove fatal to Israel's aspirations because the spirit of rival nationalism was practically dead. In a previous age, when the dominion of Hazor had welded half the population into a powerful unit, El, the solar deity, had been the accepted "Lord of all the land of Canaan."¹ But now that the widespread worship of El had become submerged, and the outlook of the people circumscribed by problems of personal security and the necessities of daily life, the spirit of the age had become parochial. The local Baal and Astarte in consequence meant more to the village community than the ancestral worship of the more distant El.

The tendency went further: older territorial customs and superstitions crept back into daily life. The omen of Gideon's fleece, Jephthah's sacrifice of his daughter, and the visit of **Primitive survivals.** Saul to the witch of Endor, illustrate the tendency. Even the Philistines respected a local oracular divinity at Ekron, which in later times was visited there by Israel's king.²

¹ See above p. 119 f.

² 2 Kings, i, 2.

Yahweh, however, was by no means forgotten, and though apparently neglected by the people in their daily life, in times of general emergency the Israelites recalled his powers and appealed for his continued help. It was the very one-ness of the cult, and the distance of the central shrine at Shiloh, which made it difficult for them to maintain their worship in the ordinary way of daily life in face of local rivals, and the spiritual aspect was not yet developed ;

Decentrali-
zation of
Yahweh
shrines.

but the earnest desire of the devotees to be loyal to his cause found expression not infrequently in local unorthodoxy.

Thus Gideon, in face of a menace of unusual proportions, did not hesitate to build a separate altar to Yahweh at Ophrah, and offer an appropriate burnt sacrifice.¹ The Danites went further, and despite the command not to make for themselves graven images acquired some on the eve of their migration northwards, doubtless foreseeing that they might be cut off from communion with the central shrine.² It is sometimes urged in view of this episode that the second commandment should be read to forbid the making of any image except that of Yahweh. But in the course of extensive excavations in Palestine, which have provided numerous illustrations of the primary cult objects, not one such image has been discovered. A coin of the third century B.C. bears the only known attempt to represent Israel's God.

There is one aspect of the process of assimilation which, though nebulous and theoretical, merits consideration, and may explain to some extent the peaceful progress of the movement. This was an age

¹ Judges vi, 7 ff.

² Judges xvii, 3, 14, 20, 30.

of syncretism in religion, as already illustrated in earlier chapters. El, the supreme sky or solar divinity of Canaan, was apparently identical in all but name with the Syrian Hadad, and the Hittite

**Origin of
solar rites.**

Teshub, the lord of the skies, the controller of storms, and hence in a particular aspect the supreme god of agriculture. He would be worshipped with the familiar solar rites, festivals of sowing and of the harvest, accompanied by dancing, and his sacred emblem was the bull. In the great revelation at Horeb which has been described,¹ El, whose name is embodied in the Hebrew Elohim, had been associated and identified with Yahweh, the pastoral Moon-god, and the divine name became for the Israelites henceforth Yahweh-Elohim, which is rendered into English as the Lord God. The God of Israel now became worshipped by a section of his devotees with solar rites, among which festivals with dancing and exaltation of a young bull in effigy are familiar details. This liturgical combination was certainly practised by the northern Israelites, as witness the sacrifice to Yahweh by Gideon of a bull on the newly built altar at Ophrah, and the dancing of the Shilohite maidens at a Yahweh festival.² That this Elohistic ritual in the cult of Yahweh became more popular and more developed among the northern Israelites than in southern Judah, is explained by the fact that the cult of El among the Canaanite population with whom they lived had already

¹ In Chap. V., pp. 169 ff. ; especially 175-6.

² Judges vi, 25, 28 ; xxi, 21. Later examples, outside our period, were found at Bethel and Dan, where Bull shrines were established by Jeroboam, who also ordained a feast to coincide with the full moon. 1 Kings xii, 28, 33.

prepared the ground. The religion of the northern tribes in this form, far from proving a barrier, may have become a bond between the various peoples, Canaanites, Hittites, and Israelites, who may well have drifted into a common worship, without any thought of disloyalty to their particular divinities.

Such in outline is the picture of this age based upon our sources, which include, as they stand, the oldest elements (J and E) in the Book of Judges, together with a few contemporary allusions on the Egyptian monuments and the tablets of Ras Shamra. The completed picture is clearly that of a long period of coalescence, lacking in political or cultural stimulus ; we can only regret that the paucity of the material does not enable us to fill in the sociological detail. We can recognize, however, the gradual fusion of two originally distinct societies, the one already complex and decadent, nurtured in the land, the other fresh, simple and virile, a product of the desert. Though the progress of Israel's settling was at first slow, the later process of fusion is seen to have become relatively rapid in the twelfth century B.C., as soon as the newcomers had proved themselves to be friendly and even helpful neighbours. The welding began with Gideon and Jephthah, when Israel's leaders assumed the initiative in protecting the population. Subsequent developments, for which there is more ample documentation, form the subject of our next chapter.

For the sake of readers who may be perplexed by comparing the foregoing outline with that one familiar in this country, which is based on the hypothesis of a later Exodus, a few words of explanation may be helpful. The theory that the Exodus

took place in the reign of Merneptah, though it seemed plausible at the time of its conception, has been discredited by more recent research, both as regards its basis and its implications.¹ The further fact recently established that Jericho fell about 1400 B.C., makes it finally untenable.² The picture of Israel's settlement constructed on that theory involved in any case a distortion of the Biblical narrative, compressing the episodes of three centuries into one, while ignoring or explaining away the historical fact established by contemporary and independent sources, that the tribes of Asher and Zebulun, and indeed Israel itself, were already recognized among the communities of Canaan by the thirteenth century B.C.³

¹ Peet, *Egypt and the O.T.*, 107 f.: Gardiner, *Geog. of the Exodus*, in *Études Champollion*, p. 203; *J.E.A.* x, 87.

² *Joshua: Judges*, 146-7.

³ *Br. Anc. Rec. Eg.* III, 617; see also above, p. 222.

CHAPTER IX.

NATION AND KINGSHIP.

1100–1000 B.C.

Historical Note : the kingship : reigns of Saul and David. Progress of settlement. Social and family life—Military organization : arms and armour : rules of war. Law and justice : the blood feud : Davidic religion. Domestic life : house and furniture : food : clothing. Primitive customs : matriarchal survivals.

THE sources for this stage of our survey are entirely Biblical, being mostly derived from the two Books of Samuel, supplemented, here and there, from the appendices to the Book of Judges (chap. xvii–xxi). The narrative discloses the gradual welding of the nation, at first under the judge and prophet Samuel, then under the warrior kings Saul and David ; and our era closes with the full establishment of the monarchy during the latter's reign. The records of this period, though mostly dealing with local episodes, are relatively full ; the sociological information is in consequence more plentiful, and it inspires at the same time more confidence as the gap lessens between the events and the written record. Both books are, in fact, to be regarded as compilations based upon

contemporary prophetic histories,¹ supplemented as regards the reign of David by actual State annals.²

We have already found unmistakable indications of the gradual and peaceful fusion of the various elements in the population of Palestine, and seen how the process became more active under the influence of common danger, and the part played by Israel's leaders to secure the common safety. With the final disappearance of Egypt from the political horizon before the growing menace of Assyria, the need of a leader became more and more insistent. The appeal addressed to Gideon,³ "Rule thou over us, both thou and thy son and thy son's son" foreshadowed the development of a kingship; and though the rule of his son Abimelech did not prove acceptable to the townspeople of Shechem, the seeds of the movement were clearly sown in those days. Meanwhile, Jephthah's successful defence of Gilead, and to a certain extent of Israel, against the Ammonites, extended the growing movement to the trans-Jordanian tribesmen. The establishment of a monarchy appeared imminent and could hardly have failed to impose itself upon the whole population, but was delayed by the jealousies of Ephraim. This tribe, though not prominent in the records of the time, evidently felt that their earlier leading position under Joshua established a traditional claim to be considered; and indeed, so far as is known, they still remained guardians of the Ark and the central sanctuary of Yahweh at Shiloh. Their rivalry led

¹ Cf. Kirkpatrick, *Introd. to Bks. of Samuel, Camb. Bib.* 1918-9.

² Cf. 2 Sam. viii, 16. Chapters ix-xx in particular have all the appearance of a contemporary document.

³ Judges viii, 22. E.

to an internecine struggle which for the time being not only arrested the idea of kingship, but enabled the Philistines to establish their supremacy upon the southern highlands.¹

The perils of the situation produced a characteristic reaction. The series of leaders whose defence of Israel had almost welded the nation, Deborah, Gideon and Jephthah, had one and all been inspired by religious zeal. Now the people turned again in their despair to Yahweh, and the union which had been denied to political and military achievements was restored, as in the beginning, by the unity of their faith. Henceforward Yahwism became the instrument, and not merely the reflection, of their national aspirations. After an interval relieved only locally by the legendary exploits of Samson in resistance to the Philistine yoke, the affairs of Israel are found for more than a generation (1065-1025) to be once again in the hands of theocratic leaders, in the persons of Eli and Samuel. During this time, however, the Ark, the traditional abiding place for Yahweh, was carried into battle by the desperate Israelites, and was captured by the Philistines. This was a fateful blow ;² the loss of their sacred and now historic war Palladium could only signify one of two things, either that after all Yahweh was really inferior to Dagon and the other Philistine gods, or that Israel had been abandoned by Him, as no longer worthy of His assistance. The religious heritage of the people and the ineffaceable tradition of Horeb, coupled with the inborn tenacity of the race, which throughout all history has reacted to the test of

¹ Cf. Chapter VII, p. 238.

² Cf. p. 359.

trial, stood proof in their supreme crisis. In all probability the return of the Ark by its affrighted captors, even though it may no longer have contained the sacred Stones, would be regarded as a favourable omen. A wave of religious fervour swept the highlands; guilds of prophets were formed, and the altars of Yahweh again smoked with sacrifice. To combat the urgent military situation, Saul, a rugged warrior and simple-minded devotee, was selected and anointed king by the prophet Samuel in the name of God. Saul came of the tribe of Benjamin, which had meanwhile found its footing on the plateau near Bethel, in the district which embraced Ramah, Gibeah, Geba and Michmash, to the immediate east of the Hivite, or Horite, area. In tradition Benjamin was the blood-brother of Joseph, so that Saul claimed equal kinship with both Ephraim and Manasseh. In this way inter-tribal jealousy was appeased, and as the downfall of Shiloh¹ had led to the creation of a new central sanctuary at Mizpah, in the Benjamite neighbourhood, the last cause of friction was overcome. The newly-created kingship embodied all the powers of a tribal chieftain and was backed by the peculiarly strong force of religious feeling. It thus, for the first time since Joshua, focussed all the unifying factors in the inter-tribal polity of Israel, and adapted them to the new conditions. This time the experiment succeeded.

Saul's first military action was directed against the Ammonites to the relief of Jabesh Gilead, and his victory secured the adhesion of the important settlements of Israel in Trans-Jordan, while con-

¹ Cf. 1 Samuel iv, 13-22. Jeremiah vii, 12-14; xxvi, 6-9.

firming the tribes on the near side in their choice. "So Saul took the kingdom over Israel, and fought against all his enemies on every side, against Moab, and against the children of Ammon, and against Edom, and against the kings of Zobah, and against the Philistines . . . and he gathered a host and smote the Amalekites, and delivered Israel out of the hands of them that spoiled them."¹

Under Saul, Israel became evidently a more united and a warlike people. Further development on these lines was, however, long restrained by the opposition of the Philistines; and though Saul waged a struggle of independence against the menace of their yoke all his life, his efforts were unavailing and he ultimately lost his life in the cause, as did also his warrior son Jonathan. Meanwhile the inter-tribal *rapprochement* had been strengthened by the mutual effort and common danger. Under these circumstances David became king, c. 1010 B.C. At first he ruled only over the south with his headquarters at Hebron, for a certain faction supported the family of Saul; but after a few years he was elected king of united Israel, not by heritage but of national necessity. His experience in camp with Saul, his service with the Philistines, and his life as a freebooter during the period of Saul's envy, had already singled him out as a remarkable soldier and unrivalled leader. He was a Bethlehemite, of the tribe of Judah, which now for the first time appears to take a full part in the national affairs. Under him Jerusalem was wrested at last from its older inhabitants to become the new capital and the ultimate centre of the Israelite

¹ 1 Samuel xiv, 47-8.

religion. The Ark was brought there amid scenes of festival and rejoicing from Kirjath-Jearim, in the Hivite, or Horite territory, where for half a century it had stood empty and bereft of meaning. Meanwhile the Sacred Tent, endowed with a more spiritual presence represented by a "pillar of cloud"¹ had been moved from Shiloh to Nob and thence to Gibeon. David, like all Israel's leaders, was a deeply religious man; and under him Yahwism was not merely re-established as the national cult, but began to assume a more spiritual meaning and to approach nearer to monotheism.

The earlier part of David's reign was hardly less chequered than that of Saul. The methods taken to establish his throne were characteristic, and no less radical than those of his predecessors, involving the extermination of political rivals, among them Saul's son, Ishbosheth, and his faithful general, Abner.² By "royal marriages," on the other hand, he created at one and the same time, in accordance with oriental practice, wide political alliances and a large family of loyal adherents.³ His wars brought him, however, the most evident success⁴; he was able to build upon the military foundation laid by Saul, and before he died he had not only brought to an end the long struggle with the Philistines, but had enforced the allegiance of outlying districts like Moab and Edom; and even extended the conquests of Israel beyond the confines of their kindred, so as to include Damascus. Tyre and Hamath were leagued to

¹ Cf. Phythian-Adams, *The Call of Israel*, pp. 91, 134.

² 2 Samuel iii, 27, iv.

³ 2 Samuel iii, 2 f., v, 13.

⁴ 2 Samuel viii, 2-14.

him by more peaceful measures, and it seems probable that he prepared the way for his successor to obtain the political support of Egypt, by which the throne of Israel secured peace as well as greatness.

Under these first kings the social organization was in a state of transition, but the materials justify an attempt to trace the process. The events recorded are still very local in character, leaving the north, in particular, completely out of the picture.¹ It can be seen, however, that the Israelites, now the leading element in the population, had begun to occupy or build more towns, and we can only assume from what followed that similar processes were at work elsewhere. There is indeed one specific

**Progress of
settlement.**

allusion, which in this connexion is the more significant in that it refers to the long disputed territory of the Shephelah and the eastern border of the Philistine plain. "The cities which the Philistines had taken were restored to Israel; and there was peace between Israel and the Amorites," the latter presumably the local inhabitants.² A more ordered state of things is indicated particularly by the fact that Samuel in his capacity of Judge went from year to year on circuit³ to Bethel, Gilgal and Mizpah, and held a permanent court at Ramah,

¹ It seems probable from the long silence about Zebulun and Naphtali, that after the Assyrian raids, the Galilean area became segregated, coming temporarily under the influence of Tyre and Sidon. Cf. Judges, x, 6, 12, and particularly xviii, 7, 28. The suggestion is borne out by the implication of 1 Kings vii, 14. The situation seems to have been redressed in David's reign from the implications of 2 Samuel xxiv, 5, which may indeed recall an expedition organized to that end.

² 1 Samuel vii, 14. Cf. Judges i, 35.

³ 1 Samuel vii, 16.

where was his house. It is true that these places were near to one another ; but the record goes on to tell of the expansion of the system as far as Beersheba, where his sons acted as judges in his stead, but failed in their office by accepting bribes, thus indicating at once the development of an ordered system and a proper standard of social duty.

Under Saul the union of the population can be regarded as nearing completion, and the government, though still tentative and largely personal, as showing signs of a central organization with some delegation of authority to subordinates. Saul, although the Lord's anointed, was essentially a warrior king, and might not himself act as priest, that rôle being reserved for Samuel,¹ who directed also the "school of prophets."

It is clear, therefore, that while the kingship at this time was regarded as a divine appointment, the ruler was not a priest-king, as formerly with Melchizedek in Jerusalem, and in the contemporary Hittite societies of the North. The people were placed under the leadership of the king, who listened to their voice, but the king himself was subject to Yahweh who spoke by the mouth of the prophet, his chief priest. A further stage was attained at the election of David, when the convention between king and people, we are told, was formally ratified at Hebron, before the Lord.² In this connexion we are reminded of the established Hittite practice of placing treaties before an appropriate divinity :³ a parallel custom which may have a real significance in view of the traditional

¹ 1 Samuel xiii, 12-13.

² 2 Samuel v, 3.

³ Above, p. 85. Cf. *Liv. Annals of Arch.* vi, 115.

association of the Hittites with Hebron.¹ On the other hand, the early Babylonians also signed their contracts before the shrine of the appropriate god.

It may be inferred from later references, however, that after Samuel's death, the king was regarded as chief judge, a relic from tribal conditions; but, nevertheless, his principal function was always of a military character. So accustomed had the people become, indeed, to see a spear in the king's hand even after the institution of the royal guard, that though at first it was borne by Saul for his personal safety, the spear was later acknowledged as a symbol of the kingly or highest military rank. "So it came to pass in the day of battle, that there "was neither sword or spear found in the hand "of any of the people that were with Saul and "Jonathan: but with Saul and with Jonathan his "son was there found a spear."² Saul also protected his person in battle with a shield.³ His royal status was indicated, we are told, even in the field, by a crown⁴ and distinctive armlet, which were passed on to David.⁵ The young man who slew Saul on Mt. Gilboa described to David how he took the crown from his head, and the bracelet from his arm and brought them to David after the battle. It may be inferred from a later passage,⁶ that the kings of Israel, in accordance with the current

¹ Genesis xxiii, 2, 3.

² 1 Samuel xiii, 22.

³ 2 Samuel i, 21-22.

⁴ Presumably a fillet or diadem. The king of Ammon wore a crown set with jewels. 2 Samuel xii, 30.

⁵ 2 Samuel i, 10.

⁶ 1 Kings, xxii, 30.

practice among contemporary societies, were accustomed to wear their royal robes even in battle, notwithstanding the increased element of personal danger thus incurred, so that Ahab found it prudent to disguise himself before entering the battle at Ramoth-Gilead.

The early period of David's kingship was very similar to that of Saul, for again he had been chosen pre-eminently as a military leader, and was at first constantly under arms. Later in his life a change becomes evident: the success of his wars, his ascendancy over the Philistines,¹ and the probable recognition of his established position by Egypt, led to the better organization of the standing army, and the delegation of the personal command of his troops in battle to a trained soldier. This development, however, belongs rather to the established monarchy described in the next chapter.

The king's power over life and death was a heritage from tribal leadership, and was exercised ruthlessly in protection of the throne. Saul did not hesitate to massacre the priests of Nob who had supported his rival,² and to destroy their town, transferring to Gibeon the empty Tent which was still regarded as the central sanctuary of Yahweh. Similarly, the supporters of David showed no compunction in slaying not only his rivals but even his own son, whose status or conduct menaced the security of his crown.³ Such acts were typical of the age, when force denoted strength and mercy was regarded as a sign of weakness. The sacrifice by

¹ Cf. 2 Samuel vii, 1.

² 1 Samuel xxii, 18.

³ 2 Samuel xviii, 14, 15. Cf. p. 287.

Samuel of a living prisoner, Agag, at the altar of Yahweh,¹ and the savagery associated in tradition with the deed, provide further illustration. The episode, none the less, reflects with terrible significance the truly critical position of Israel at the time, which called for the sternest measures and unflinching determination.

Such violent assertions of authority are in growing contrast to the continued modesty of the court life in this period of transition. Though eating at the king's table was counted a high honour,² and the act of obeisance also was practised in David's reign,³ numerous passages illustrate the simplicity of his home life,⁴ and a studied humility of pretension on the part of both these kings. Thus Saul's table was usually laid for four persons only⁵; he is found working on his farm after being anointed⁶; and David in sorrow walked barefooted in the company of his household. In view of the picture of the age, conveyed by these and innumerable details, it is evident that the formal constitution of the kingship, with its prerogatives and state as forecast in 1 Samuel vii, 11 ff, is to be regarded as prophetic and premature, though it gives an apt description of the monarchy as subsequently established. It is true that in another passage⁷ Samuel is stated to have told the people the manner of the kingdom, and to have written it in the book and to have laid it

¹ 1 Samuel xv, 33.

² 2 Samuel ix, 7, 10, 11, etc.

³ 2 Samuel i, 2, xiv, 4, xv, 5.

⁴ 2 Samuel xiii, 6-9.

⁵ 1 Samuel xx, 25.

⁶ 1 Samuel xi, 5.

⁷ 1 Samuel x, 25.

before the Lord ; but such constitution was evidently still theocratic and elementary in character, a compact between Saul and Yahweh, in virtue of which the people accepted his appointment as divinely ordained, and promised their allegiance. Again, in 1 Samuel xv, 4, we are told that Saul numbered the people, presumably for conscription ; but we cannot overlook the fact that a similar endeavour on the part of David ended in disaster. The figures given, 200,000 fighting men for Israel and 10,000 for Judah, though demonstrably quite impossible, are nevertheless interesting, if only because of their striking contrast to the record of half a million referred to in the Book of Exodus to the time of Israel's escape from Egypt. It is just possible, however, that they do represent in round figures the total of the combined population from which Saul and David at first drew their fighting strength.

The steady but slow progress of Israel in the occupation of the walled towns of the country, is indicated by the increasing number of references to " cities." Most of these, however, were relatively small, especially those upon the highlands, among which Bethel, Gibeah, Gibeon, and Mizpah,¹ may be recognized and are known from excavations to have been fortified. No trace of ancient ramparts has yet been found, however, either at Ramah or Bethlehem Judah, while the site of the highland Gilgal remains uncertain. Nor do excavations at Seilun seem yet to have traced the whole outline of historic Shiloh, which nevertheless was probably surrounded

¹ On the identity of this site and for descriptions of the others, see *Joshua : Judges*, p. 362 f.

by a wall as suggested more than once in the narrative. Eli, for instance, is said to have fallen backwards by the side of the gate.¹ As of old the city gate was the favourite place of meeting,² particularly of the chiefs and elders. Thus, Saul drew near to Samuel in the gate of the latter's city.³ The king stood by the gate-side.⁴ Joab took Abner aside in the gate of Hebron.⁵ David sat between the two gates of Mahanaim to await tidings.⁶

The occupation of the great cities of Hebron and Jerusalem is ascribed to David, and marks the final consolidation of the southern highlands. As of old, the royal residence seems normally to have overlooked the gate⁷; and at Mahanaim it is said that David went up to the chamber over the gate to weep.⁸ Other cities, in the plain and elsewhere, remained in enemy hands, and the references show them to have been fortified as of old. Thus, David early in his career is said to have scrabbled on the doors of the gate of Gath,⁹ the city of the Philistine leader Achish. Further detail as to the construction of the gate, in the case of Gaza, transpires in the story of Samson, who arose at midnight and laid hold of the doors of the gate of the city, and the two posts, and plucked them up, bar and all.¹⁰ This description recalls the actual gateway of Mizpah at Tell el Nasbeh, recently uncovered by Professor W. F. Badè and ascribed by him to the end of the tenth century B.C.

¹ 1 Samuel iv, 18.

² Genesis xix, i, J.

³ 1 Samuel ix, 18.

⁴ 2 Samuel xviii, 4.

⁵ 2 Samuel iii, 27.

⁶ 2 Samuel xviii, 24.

⁷ Cf. Judges v, 28.

⁸ 2 Samuel xviii, 33.

⁹ 1 Samuel xx, 13.

¹⁰ Judges xvi, 3.

The approach in this case was from the North, and, just outside the entrance, in the shade between the gate's protective bastion and the city wall, stone seats were arranged on either side. The gateway was double and about twelve feet across: it was closed with two massive gates, fitting into a stone frame and swinging from stone sockets above and below. The bar was its most instructive feature. This, to judge from the preserved masonry, was a solid beam of wood, probably not less than 4in. by 6in. in section, and long enough to span the whole width of the opening. It ran in a horizontal masoned groove built into the thickness of the bastion; and when the gates were closed it was drawn out into position behind and against them, with its free end resting in a socket prepared in the opposite jamb. The gateways of the greater cities beyond Jordan were evidently fortified in similar fashion. At Rabbah, now Amman, the Israelites pressed upon the Ammonites "even unto the entering in of the gate."¹ but the city was not captured.

The conditions of Society already apparent from the last chapters of the Book of Judges apply to the period covered by the first Book of Samuel, and though the reign of Saul saw more **Social and family life.** definite progress in the fusion of the population, it was not until the capture of Jerusalem by David that the welding of the nation can be regarded as accomplished. Though in Saul's reign Israel possessed the cities of Benjamin,²

¹ 2 Samuel xi, 23.

² 1 Samuel xxii, 6, 7, etc.

and found refuge from the Philistines in the highlands of Ephraim,¹ there was still an element of the population described as Hebrews who were not Israelites but sided with their enemies.² Social organization was still a matter of mutual arrangement, with a tendency for the segregation of communities in the bigger towns, or for the occupation of separate villages, by different racial elements.³ In the Arab settlement of Palestine the same process has been long at work as between different tribes; and even to-day the Jews of Jerusalem, Jaffa, and Hebron, like the Samaritans at Nablus (which replaces Shechem) tend to congregate in separate quarters of these Arab towns. The separation is determined by religion as well as race. In the country some villages are wholly Christian, while the immigrant Jews of to-day are mostly establishing themselves in isolated colonies. The present cleavage reflects the past. A strong government can preserve order and provide rights of citizenship for all, but only time and a common purpose can weld a population.

The details of the Biblical narrative apply almost exclusively to the Israelite society, in which the most radical development was the spread of agriculture consequent upon their more settled conditions. Abigail's present to David,⁴ the produce of a single farmstead, may be cited as a typical illustration; it comprised loaves of bread, bottles of wine, sheep ready dressed, five measures of parched corn, a hundred clusters of raisins, and ten hundred cakes of

¹ 1 Samuel xiv, 22.

² 1 Samuel xiv, 21.

³ Cf. Judges xix 12.

⁴ 1 Samuel xxv, 18.

figs. Asses were employed for the transport of these provisions. This list indicates material changes from desert life, among which the most conspicuous are the killing of sheep for food without religious rites, and the use of wine. The latter was evidently a growing practice inconsistent with the purist tenets of the southern Yahwists (e.g., the later Rechabites); and cases of drunkenness are recorded with evident disapproval.¹

Typical pictures of village life and social customs seen in the stories of Samson and the Danite migration² show that, though the narrative is mostly concerned with the tribal areas of Benjamin and Ephraim, the process of settling was spreading to the borders of the western plains³ and northwards beyond the old site of Hazor. Casual references to dogs, the scavengers, dunghills and beggars, give hints of village sights familiar through all time in the east.⁴ More significant are the allusions to village festivals,⁵ with dancing,⁶ sacrificial feasts⁷ and festivities, as, for instance, at the weaning of a child.⁸ These, and spontaneous outbursts of music and revelry, such as greeted the return of Saul and David from victory,⁹ show that it was only the

¹ 1 Samuel i, 14, *ibid.* xxv, 36.

² Judges xiv, xv, xviii.

³ Note the significant passage in 1 Samuel vii, 14, where a victory over the Philistines is accompanied by an Amorite alliance, and followed by the cession of certain villages in the Shephelah to Israel.

⁴ Cf. 1 Samuel xvii, 43, etc., 1 Samuel ii, 8, etc.

⁵ Judges xxi, 20-21.

⁶ Judges xxi, 21, cf. 2 Samuel vi, 14.

⁷ 1 Samuel i, 4-8, ix, 22-24.

⁸ Cf. Gen. xxi, 1-8, 1 Samuel i, 22; 1 Kings xi, 30.

⁹ 1 Samuel xviii, 6-7.

disturbed conditions consequent upon the Philistine wars, and the prevailing sense of insecurity,¹ that arrested the free expression and development of those customs and institutions which lend character to a nation's life.

With the increasing concentration of the people in village and town, the family became established as the social unit; and the extinction of a family was regarded as a social evil.² The law itself, as we have seen, made provision for special cases of the childless marriage, and speedy re-marriage was encouraged.³ As compared with the relative freedom inherent in desert life, the position of women tended apparently to retrogress with the narrowing of surroundings and the increase of domestic duties. There were no national heroines in these days. In earlier practice as among the desert Arabs, monogamy was almost the rule; now polygamy was evidently growing, being recognized in the Deuteronomic Law,⁴ and concubinage was more common. Gross ill-treatment was, however, punishable as a crime.⁵ In other respects the betrothal and marriage customs may be deemed to have remained almost unchanged.

Under Saul, in addition to the personal or house guard already mentioned,⁶ we find indications of the development of a standing army. The dispersal of the tribes throughout the hill country made the process of assembling a force dangerously slow; so that, in addition to

**Military
organization.**

¹ 1 Samuel xviii, xxx.

² 2 Samuel xiv, 7 (see above, p. 198).

³ 1 Samuel xxv, 39; 2 Samuel xi, 27.

⁴ 1 Samuel i, 2. Deut. xxi, 15-17.

⁵ Judges xix, 27-30.

⁶ 1 Samuel xxii, 17. Above, p. 290.

the obligation of the tribes to supply their contingents when summoned,¹ a body of troops seems to have been kept mobilized and at call. Political conditions and the danger of raids would in any case have necessitated some such precaution. The numbers of this central "army" were, seemingly, still variable, being, no doubt, proportioned to the circumstances of the day. The earliest clear indication puts the number at 3,000, "whereof 2,000 were with Saul at Michmash and in the mount of Bethel,² and 1,000 with Jonathan in Gibeah of Benjamin."³ Shortly afterwards, perhaps on ætiological grounds, Saul's force is said to have been reduced to 600 men, and the united strength was concentrated at Geba, across the valley from Michmash, where the Philistines were encamped.⁴ Later it is claimed that a general rally of the tribes numbered 200,000 foot soldiers in addition to 10,000 men of Judah⁵; but, as mentioned above, the wording of the record leaves reason to suspect some confusion between the total numbers of the population and that of the fighting men. Throughout Saul's reign there is no reference to the northern tribes, and it will be recalled that, with their collaboration two hundred years previously, the force assembled from seven tribes under Barak's command had mustered not more than 40,000 men; but the passage is ambiguous,⁶ and the figure is probably largely in excess of the reality, unless indeed it indicates the total popula-

¹ 1 Samuel xi, 7.

² To-day apparently the Jebel Barak, the hill of Lightning.

³ 1 Samuel xiii, 2.

⁴ *Ibid.* xiii, 15.

⁵ *Ibid.* xv, 4.

⁶ Judges iv, 10.

tion of the tribes. The numbers of the contingent from Naphtali and Zebulun alone is put at 10,000 men. Taking into account the conditions of warfare at the time, and the rugged nature of the country, it is hardly credible that Saul's total command numbered at any time more than 10,000 men. Under David the total effective force is given as 30,000 men; but his scheme for military training provided for a smaller number, 24,000 in all.¹

News of the outbreak of hostilities, or a call to arms, was given locally by sounding a trumpet²; but the summons to a general rally appears to have been conveyed to the tribes, as a rule, by messenger; Gideon's story shows both methods.³ Under exceptional circumstances especially, it would seem, when the national honour was involved, the corpse of a victim or sacrificial animal would be cut up and distributed to the tribal units, who understood and did not fail the summons. One unique example of this primitive custom is found in the crude story of the punishment of Benjamin,⁴ which seemingly belongs to an epoch after the death of Saul, when Judah had gained the ascendancy and the tribes were more united. The main episode may reflect the ruthless suppression of a rebellion by David or by Solomon; the situation and sequel suggest the end of the latter's reign. In this case the body of a dishonoured woman was dismembered and so used. Saul used carcases of oxen for the purpose. On hearing through messengers that the people of

¹ 2 Samuel xxiv, 2 f., and below, p. 351.

² Judges iii, 27, vi, 34, 1 Samuel xiii, 3.

³ Judges vi, 35, xi, 12.

⁴ Judges xix, 29.

Jabesh-Gilead were menaced with mutilation by the Ammonite leaders, "He took a yoke of oxen, and cut them in pieces, and sent them throughout all the borders of Israel."¹ It seems clear that the use of oxen in this way conveyed a warning of special significance, for in the last case "the dread of the Lord [Yahweh] fell on the people, and they came out as one man." This call produced the greatest muster up to date, the figure being put at 300,000 men, including a contingent of 30,000 from the tribe of Judah.² Clearly these figures are out of all proportion,³ but their increase reflects the growing strength and union of the people.

In the case of a general rally we may infer from a later Biblical allusion,⁴ that the tribal contingents continued to assemble under the direction of their own clan leaders, but fought under special officers selected by the king. Evidently, under the changed circumstances of the day, it would be more expeditious for the troops to report for duty by village groups, without delaying first to unite all the contingents of a tribe. Their arrival in this way facilitated their separation into organized units, which were then grouped by divisions placed under the orders of the king. Some such partially centralized scheme of organization had already been foreshadowed when the original clan had been reorganized under Moses and Joshua⁵; and it seems clear that when the Israelite forces which assembled at Bezek for the

¹ 1 Samuel xi, 7.

² 1 Samuel xi, 8.

³ Cf. 2 Samuel vi, 1.

⁴ Deut. xx, 9. *See also* below, p. 352.

⁵ Cf. above, p. 179 f.

relief of Jabesh-Gilead are said¹ to have been arranged by Saul "in three companies," each such company would require a separate officer, who would be nominated directly by Saul himself. Such commands were reserved of right, and for the avoidance of inter-tribal jealousy, for the royal family, Saul and his son Jonathan from the first leading separate contingents,² and the name of the third leader being subsequently disclosed³ as Abner, Saul's cousin, who later became recognized as "Captain of the host." It may, of course, be argued that this scheme of organization is premature and ætiologically designed to uphold Saul's claim to the ratification of his kingship, which follows in the narrative⁴; and the fact that the Philistines are said to have been similarly organized may seem to support this view. But, as has been already indicated, the breaking up of the tribal unit, and the centralization of authority in the king, made some new system indispensable; and it seems probable that both Saul and David had learnt this scheme from their experience of the Philistines, and recognized its tactical advantages. In any case, under David such subdivision of the army into three parts became a permanent feature of the military organization,⁵ and the leadership of these divisions was delegated to selected commanders, under whom, it appears, were captains of hundreds and captains of thousands on the model of the contemporary Imperial armies.

¹ 1 Samuel xi, 2.

² *Ibid.*, xiii, 2.

³ *Ibid.*, xiv, 50.

⁴ *Ibid.* xi, 15.

⁵ 2 Samuel xviii, 2.

Under David the army and its organization developed greatly. Not only was he a successful soldier but a born leader, with the special gift of endearing his subordinates to his person, a power which made possible the delegation of his direct control. He had learnt much of military methods while serving with the Philistines, and his personal relations with the king and people of Gath had probably attracted numbers of the latter to his own service, especially when the fall of Jerusalem had foreshadowed his ultimate success and the supremacy of Israel. It is significant that one of his divisional commanders was actually a Gittite.¹ The other chief commands were held by the royal family, in the persons of Joab and his brother, the king's nephews. The former was in fact the virtual head of the army, and David's selection of him was repaid by a life of devoted service to his throne and person, in the course of which Joab established an undying reputation as a great warrior and general. Finally, late in David's reign,² the royal bodyguard is found to have been remodelled by the incorporation of two groups of professional soldiers, which were maintained throughout the reign of his successor.³

Collaterally with the organization of the army, came the improvement in arms and military method, well seen in the few recorded cases of siege warfare undertaken in these reigns. The earlier attempt of Abimelech to capture the tower of Thebez had ended summarily in his death, slain by a missile

¹ 2 Samuel xviii, 2.

² Recorded at the end of 2 Samuel viii, which historically is to be read after the narrative section embodied in Chapters ix-x.

³ Below, p. 349 ff.

thrown down from the walls¹; and it is clear, both at this time and during the reign of Saul when the Philistines controlled the making of arms, that siege warfare made no headway as a military science, notwithstanding the personal valour displayed in the various attempts described to capture cities. The short range of the Israelites' offensive weapons brought them too closely under the ramparts, where they were more vulnerable than the defenders even though similarly armed; so that at Rabbath-Ammon the death of Uriah occurred in this way.² Even the capture of Jerusalem by David was accomplished by stratagem and personal hardihood rather than by method. The city occupied the ridge which rises from the later pools of Siloam to the south-west corner of the mediæval city, and was defended by a characteristic glacis of large stones running along the brink of the steep slopes, an unassailable position. But the supply of water from the spring, now known as Mary's well, had been led for greater safety inside the circuit of the walls by a subterranean conduit, which has been discovered in recent years.³ A deep well within the wall was fed by this watercourse from the external spring. "And David said: Whosoever smiteth the Jebusites, let him get up to the watercourse."⁴ It seems reasonable to infer that a party of men hazarded their lives in this way, and, gaining the interior unperceived, threw open the gates to the besiegers. A marked development in method is

¹ Judges ix, 50-53.

² 2 Samuel xi, 19-21.

³ Cf. *Joshua: Judges*, p. 389.

⁴ 2 Samuel v, 8.

seen to have taken place at the subsequent siege of Beth Maacah,¹ where, doubtless under the protection of shields, Joab's troops threw up a mound against the city's ramparts, and were thus able to bring battering implements to play upon the thinner curtain wall and parapet with which it would be crowned. A similar device seems to have been employed in earlier days against Jericho, where the excavations outside the northern rampart of Hyksos times showed the fosse to have been filled up, about 1600 B.C., presumably by the avenging Pharaohs, so that the upper defences might be assaulted. The only difference to be noted lies not in the method employed, but in the situation of the cities themselves. Jericho stood upon a low mound, against which rose the glacis, with the additional protection of an artificial fosse ; whereas Beth-Maacah stood high upon an isolated ridge, well above the marshes of the Huleh basin.

In all these early wars individual valour evidently played a leading part, to be replaced, as methods developed and the army increased in numbers, by co-ordinated effort. Numerous examples might be quoted, some of foolhardiness, like Abimelech exposing himself in the assault on Thebez ; others of skill, like the killing of the armour-clad Philistine champion by a slingstone. Some episodes show promptitude in taking advantage of favourable circumstances, as when, in earlier history, the crossing of the Jordan and the capture of Jericho were undertaken in a time of earthquake,² regarded, from Horeb onward, as the direct intervention of Yahweh. So Jonathan, the

¹ 2 Samuel xx, 15.

² Above, p. 171.

son of Saul, inspired by similar conditions,¹ climbed with his armour bearer into the camp of the affrighted Philistines on the heights of Michmash; "There was a trembling in the camp, in the field, and among all the peoples . . . and the spoilers [the Philistines] also trembled; and the earth quaked . . . and behold the multitude melted away."

Apart from such episodes, however, the art of single combat never found a place in the Israelites' mode of warfare: it was a northern and not an oriental practice. The picture of the Israelites massed on one side of a valley, and the Philistines on the other, to await the issue of Goliath's challenge,² is entirely foreign to the Israelite tradition of rapid night marches and surprise attacks, such as proved the decisive feature in Joshua's and Gideon's victories.³ In the latter case the Midianites were surprised in their camp after setting "the middle watch."⁴ So, also, Saul, having divided his people into three companies, came into the middle of the camp of the Ammonites in "the morning watch."⁵ Though this method of dividing the night, from sunset to sunrise, into regular watches, is possibly anachronous and referred back from later practice, the narrative leaves little room to doubt that surprise attacks were still the most effective method which they could employ, and the division of the army into three groups, as already mentioned, added further power to such tactics. But the campaigns of Saul and David

¹ 1 Samuel xiv, 15.

² 1 Samuel xvii, 3.

³ pp. 186, 255.

⁴ Judges vii, 19.

⁵ Samuel xi, 11.

are, for the most part, too briefly described to warrant a study of their tactics, though one passage emphasizes the elementary precept that an encircling movement is preferable to a frontal attack when the enemy occupies higher ground.¹

Equally negative is the information about their method of encamping, and we are left from various allusions with the impression that up to a point it was lacking in system. The setting of "night watches" or sentinels, alluded to above, in both instances actually refers to the camps of enemies, though doubtless in hostile country the Israelites would do the same; but that the practice was not then a matter of routine or discipline is seen from the way in which David was able to creep with Abishai into Saul's bivouac in the wilderness of Ziph,² to find the king and his soldiers sleeping without a guard, and to remove the royal spear which was stuck into the ground by Saul's head.

Throughout all the period of Samuel and Saul, the weapons of the Israelites remained primitive, indeed the making of swords and spears was forbidden them by the Philistines.³ Even the use of the bow, originally learnt we may believe in Egypt, seems to have gone out, probably owing to the lack of suitable wood upon the highlands, where the common trees are mostly gnarled and knotty. In the meanwhile, the sling had come into use, doubtless from association with the inhabitants, for this is an implement of cultivated lands, and is still widely used throughout Syria and Egypt for scaring birds, as well as

¹ 2 Samuel v, 23.

² 1 Samuel xxvi, 7.

³ 1 Samuel xiii, 19.

hares and rabbits where these are found. Under the circumstances this implement was adopted as an offensive arm by the Israelites, who attained by practice great proficiency in its use, so that they could boast of 700 chosen men who "could sling a stone at a hairbreadth and not miss."¹ It remained in fact their only long-range weapon until the bow was reintroduced, probably after the establishment of relations with Phœnicia, late in David's reign.² It is true that bows are mentioned among the weapons of privileged warriors and leaders, but they were rare; thus Jonathan stripped himself of his own girdle, sword, and bow, to provide arms for David.³ Jonathan was evidently an accomplished archer, accustomed to practise frequently by shooting at a mark with a boy to collect his arrows. This is clear from arrangements he made with David when Saul sought his life.⁴ "To-morrow is the new moon," he explains, "and thou shalt be missed because thy seat will be empty. After these days, come to the place where thou didst hide thyself by the stone Ezel, and I will shoot three arrows on the side thereof as though I shot at a mark. And, behold, I will send a boy saying, 'Go find out these arrows'." Moreover, his fame was commemorated in one of the nation's war songs.⁵

*From the blood of the slain, from the fat of the mighty,
The bow of Jonathan turned not back,
And the sword of Saul returned not empty.*

¹ Judges xx, 16.

² Below, p. 326.

³ 1 Samuel xviii, 4.

⁴ 1 Samuel xx, 20, 36 ff.

⁵ 2 Samuel i, 22.

There is no suggestion, however, that the use of the bow became general until much later, though the Philistines may have had this advantage, being able to receive supplies of weapons or wood from Egypt or overseas. That the scarcity of suitable wood may explain the neglect of the bow, seems to be implied by an allusion, in one of David's songs, to a bow of metal,¹ as it is hardly possible to regard this material as an improvement rather than an expedient, since metal has never been generally adopted for their construction.

In the absence of the bow, the javelin and darts became familiar as offensive weapons,² but under the restrictions imposed by the Philistines it seems probable that for long these arms must have been tipped with flint; and this view is supported by the discovery, in relatively large numbers, of suitably fashioned flints in the Iron Age Levels on sites under excavation. The spear, or lance, like the bow, was rare, perhaps as a result of the difficulty of obtaining the metal heads or suitably straight wood for the shaft. As early as Deborah this scarcity was regretted³; and later, as already noted, the spear was only seen in the hands of kings or selected warriors until the era of David's reorganization.⁴ A knife or dagger as a side-arm was early adopted by those who could procure one, and remains an inseparable adjunct of Bedouin outfit. The club, or heavy wooden staff,⁵ as used by shepherds to-day in the mountain pastures of Palestine, was probably

¹ 2 Samuel xxii, 35.

² 1 Samuel xviii, 10; xix 9-10. 2 Samuel xviii, 14, etc.

³ Judges v, 8.

⁴ 2 Samuel xxiii, 18-21.

⁵ 1 Samuel xvii, 40.

the most familiar weapon of the Israelitish people in their early wars.

Body² armour was not employed, and was only known from its use by foreign soldiers like the Philistines, and in particular, their Homeric champion Goliath. "He had an helmet of brass upon his head, and was armed with a coat of mail, and he had greaves of brass upon his legs, and a target of brass between his shoulders, and the staff of his spear was like a weaver's beam ; and his spear's head weighed 600 shekels of iron ; and one bearing a shield went before him. . . . And David took his staff in his hand, and chose five smooth stones out of the brook, and put them in a shepherd's bag, even in scrip ; and his sling was in his hand."¹

The suggestion in one isolated passage² that Saul wore a helmet and mail armour is demonstrably anachronous.

The allusions to armour-bearers attached to the persons of kings or well-known warriors, such as Gideon, Abimelech, Saul, and Jonathan, probably refer to attendants who carried with them spare weapons, especially darts, or in the case of Jonathan, arrows, and on the march may have borne their shields.³ It is true that the shield is mentioned metaphorically in numerous passages, but references to it as employed in war are few. According to Deborah's song, it was not to be seen among the allied tribesmen at the defeat of Sisera,⁴ and the only direct allusion to such an arm in the Books of Samuel

¹ 1 Samuel xvii, 5, 40.

² 1 Samuel xvii, 38. Compare Saul's armour found on Mt. Gilboa : 1 Samuel xxxi, 9.

³ Judges ix, 54 E. 1 Samuel xxxi, 4., xiv, 6, 7, 12, etc.

⁴ Judges v, 8.

occurs in David's funeral lament over Saul,¹ and indirectly suggests that it was made of metal. All the same, the references indicate that the shield was quite familiar; it is frequently employed by desert tribes, and as it can be made of dried skin, it was well within the competence of Israel's warriors to protect themselves in battle with this defensive arm.

To sum up, Saul's fighting men were armed generally with slings and clubs, and possibly with shields and knives, selected men with javelins and darts, their leaders only with bow or spear and sword. With the significance of this equipment in view, we can better appreciate the character of warfare in this age, and the personal valour of the fighters indispensable for success.

It is already apparent that throughout all this time the Israelites were unmounted. Chariots were not used by them at all until late in David's reign,² though frequently employed against them. These were the weapons of the plains which long kept Israel to the hills; but doubtless from the experience gained in their occasional conflicts with Philistines and Canaanites so armed, they developed special tactics and methods for such unequal contests. Even David, like Joshua of old, destroyed the chariots he captured,³ and there survived in Israel a strong feeling against their use, as incompatible with their traditions.⁴

¹ 2 Samuel i, 21. Cf. the translation by Sir George Adam Smith, *Hist. Geog. Holy Land*. p. 403: *The shield of Saul rusts unanointed with oil.*

² Below, p. 353.

³ Joshua xi, 9, J. 2 Samuel viii, 4.

⁴ Isaiah ii, 7; xxxi, 1; Micah v, 10; Psalms xx, 7.

The inefficiency of arms and armour on the side of the Israelites was made good by their hardihood, their personal bravery, and their ruthlessness in battle. For them war was holy ; the oldest ballads show that they fought for Yahweh and in his name,¹ as seen also in the old battle cry against the Midianites : “ The sword of the Lord and of Gideon² ” ; indeed, the destinies of Yahweh and of Israel were one. This was no figure of speech ; readiness for battle demanded abstinence and preparation in a religious sense,³ and subsequent purification of man and weapons,⁴ so that they joined the fight filled with religious ardour, cleansed for the supreme sacrifice. That they “ offered themselves willingly ” added to their glory.⁵ The Wahábis, already mentioned, provide a modern illustration of their frame of mind.⁶ They looked for no quarter from their foes and were expected to give none. The greater the nation’s peril, the more insistent and ferocious became Samuel’s warnings and example ; as witness his sacrifice at the altar of a living chieftain spared by Saul.⁷

In principle, all prisoners and booty were to be devoted to Yahweh,⁸ falling under the *herem* or ban ; and though in practice, as the hour of greatest peril passed, the extreme severity of this custom tended to relax, the treatment of prisoners and the vanquished still continued to be remorseless to an extent

¹ Cf. The Song of Miriam, Exodus xv, 21, E ; The Song of Deborah, Judges v, 31, E.

² Judges vii, 20 ; Cf. 18 (J).

³ 2 Samuel xi, 11.

⁴ Numbers xxxi, 19-24 P

⁵ Judges v, 2, 9.

⁶ Above, p. 185.

⁷ 1 Samuel xv, 3 ff. especially 14, 21, 33.

⁸ 1 Samuel xxi, 9 ; xxxi, 10.

which appals modern thought, and David's act of clemency towards his Moabite prisoners¹ still doomed two-thirds of them to death. These were the customs of the age, practised by all the tribal enemies and rivals of Israel, who fought under the same rules of war. Any remorse would have been regarded as weakness, by friend and foe alike. There were, however, limits: personal cruelty was not tolerated by the Israelites, and the threat of the Ammonite leader to put out the right eyes of the men of Jabesh Gilead as a condition of their surrender,² called up the Israelites "as one man" to the rescue.³ It is evident that in their tribal struggles, the Israelites fought their enemies on common terms and under a common code⁴; their only advantage lay in their ardour and their faith.

With the Philistines the case was different: these trained soldiers were superior in arms; and their objective, if our interpretation of the narrative is correct, was not territory, but public order.⁵ So far as can be seen, they fought under a different code, and though they displayed an inflexibility of purpose in the discharge of their duties, and generations of Israelites were nurtured in the spirit of resistance, there is no credible record of acts of savagery or vengeance on either side. The lords of the Philistines, though they wisely declined to allow David to join them against Saul, recognized his soldierly qualities, and

Various
rules
of war.

¹ 2 Samuel viii, 2.

² 1 Samuel xi, 2.

³ *Ibid.*, v, 7.

⁴ Cf. below, p. 356.

⁵ See above, p. 234.

bore him no personal ill-will.¹ It is true that they exposed the body of Saul after he had been slain in battle,² but this seems to have been an act of warning against the rebellious spirit of the age. Saul's armour, after the fashion of the times, was dedicated as a trophy to the goddess of the land,³ and the Ark, the palladium of Israel and the abode of Yahweh in battle, when captured by the Philistines, was placed before their own god Dagon.⁴ When it proved to be an evil portent it was not broken, but ceremoniously returned.⁵ This action may be compared with that of David, who subsequently captured the Philistine's images and took them away.⁶ Both these episodes serve to demonstrate the real belief of both peoples in the leadership of the gods, with whom the Philistines indeed thought it right to share their spoils.

In the matter of booty and prisoners, it is noteworthy that the "herem" seems to have applied only to the wars of Yahweh, that is, those involving the national interest or security, and the inherited desert instincts of Saul's followers on one occasion were responsible for Saul's sin in keeping the best of the sheep and oxen, "the lambs and all that was good," amongst the booty taken in a holy war against the Amalekites. This was considered a sacrilegious action, calling forth the bitter wrath and judgment of Samuel, who condemned Saul to the loss of his throne.⁷

There is no record of the Philistines carrying off

¹ 1 Samuel xxix, 3 ff.

² 1 Samuel xxxi, 10.

³ 1 Samuel xxxi, 10.

⁴ 1 Samuel, v, 2.

⁵ 1 Samuel vi, 2 ff.

⁶ 2 Samuel v, 21.

⁷ 1 Samuel xv, 23.

either booty or prisoners, except for the special cases of trophies like the Ark and Saul's armour, which were offered to their gods; but most of Israel's foes seem to have had complete liberty in this matter. This is suggested in the song of Deborah when the minstrel imagines the mother of Sisera awaiting his return from war with Israel not only laden with "divers colours of needlework meet for the necks of them that take the spoil," but also "to every man a damsel or two," anticipating that Sisera and his troops would have had no scruples about carrying off and retaining marriageable girls, contrary to the normal Semitic practice.¹ Again, when the Amalekites raided Ziklag,² they carried away all the women and children with the spoil, including David's own wives and property from his camp near the city. This led directly to a reprisal by David for which he received no condemnation; but David was a free-booter with a band of outlaws; he was not fighting in the cause of Yahweh, but merely restoring that which had been stolen with the captured women and children. He followed the enemy into the south country, gaining knowledge of their position from an Egyptian labourer, and not only restored all that had been lost, but spoiled the Amalekites, dividing the booty freely amongst his followers according to Bedouin practice. He is said to have subsequently made this custom a statute and ordinance for Israel,³ "as his share is that goeth down to the battle, so shall his share be that tarrieth by the stuff; they shall share alike." And

¹ Judges v, 30. Cf. above, pp, 213 and 228,

² 1 Samuel xxx, 3.

³ 1 Samuel xxx, 24-25.

he sent a present also from the spoil to the Elders of Judah, to his friends in all the places which he and his men were wont to haunt.

Such, in outline, are the sociological features of this period of national development afforded by our sources, viewed from political, social and military standpoints. Though the further materials are either insufficient or too disconnected to complete the picture, they throw light upon various other points of detail, some of which are of special interest in that they reveal the surviving traces of primitive custom, thus linking the old order with the new. We take a passing glance at these under the headings of our sociological schedule.¹

In the category of Law and Justice, already discussed in brief,² there appear several allusions to Blood Feud and Revenge, which disclose the survival of this Bedouin custom³ in its primitive severity, without the possibility of compromise⁴; and even if it be admitted that some of these look like ætiological insertions in the text, this fact would only demonstrate the longer survival of this practice. The instances described more fully include a curious case about the right of which there seems to have been some early difference of opinion among annotators. This is embodied in the account of the death of Asahel, the brother of Joab, at the hands of Abner,⁵

¹ See the Appendix to this volume, p. 395.

² Above, p. 298.

³ Discussed in Chapter vi, p. 201. See further Haddad, *Blood Revenge Among the Arabs*, J.P.O.S. i., p. 103 f.

⁴ E.g., 2 Samuel xiv, 7; *ibid.*, xxi, 4-6.

⁵ 2 Samuel ii, 23.

and its sequel in Joab's revenge upon Abner at Hebron.¹ The story may be regarded as coloured in favour of the reputation of Abner, who through all his life had proved himself loyal to the house of Saul, and who died in his service ; and also in exoneration of David himself on whose behalf is denied all complicity in the crime,² for which indeed he is said to have cursed the house of Joab.³ Otherwise the act has all the appearance, and certainly had the value, of a political murder ; for Abner at the time was actively supporting the claims of Ishbosheth, Saul's elder surviving son, to the throne of Israel, while David, with Joab's help, had been elected king of Judah and crowned in Hebron. There is certainly something curious about the story. At a conference between the rival commanders by the pool of Gibeon, twelve youths from either side were invited to join in a kind of tournament, which developed into a free fight resulting in deaths on both sides. The situation became dangerous for Abner, who fled towards the Jordan, pursued by Joab and his brothers. One of these, Asahel, being light of foot, outdistanced the others, and coming up with Abner was invited by him, the narrative says, to arm himself if he wished to fight. Declining to do so he was slain by Abner's spear. Joab's further pursuit was stopped by Abner's appeal : " Shall the sword devour for ever ? Knowest thou not that it will be bitterness in the latter end ? How long shall it be then, ere thou bid the people return from following their brethren ?" A truce was called, and the

¹ *Ibid.*, iii, 27.

² *Ibid.*, v, 28.

³ *Ibid.*, v. 29.

Feud seemed to be ended.¹ In the sequel Abner is described as making overtures to David, whom he visited at Hebron in Joab's absence. When, later, Abner came again to Hebron, Joab took him aside into the midst of the gate to speak with him quietly, and smote him there so that he died, "for the blood of Asahel his brother." The latter part of this narrative thus shows Joab in a bad light, contrasting with his earlier display of magnanimity, and David appears, in fact, never to have condoned this deed,² which later is added as a second motive for Joab's death.³ Probably both murders were political; but, as the narrative avers, Joab accomplished his part under the guise of blood revenge. As already shown, the throne of each successive monarch was not considered secure until all rival claimants and their supporters had been killed. This is a familiar custom in the history of kingship: the point of this instance is the demonstration that Blood Revenge was still regarded as a lawful institution.⁴

That David was, in fact, a party to Abner's death seems improbable for two reasons, firstly, that he had entered into negotiations which he had reason to believe would lead to a more rapid and peaceable fusion of all Israel,⁵ and, secondly, that he had himself a soldier's horror of death in cold-blood. His mitigation of the fate of prisoners doomed under the "herem" has been already mentioned; and other passages tell of his acts of clemency, as well as his

¹ 2 Samuel ii, 26, 27.

² 2 Samuel iii, 33-39.

³ 1 Kings ii, 5, 32.

⁴ See pp. 13, 200, 364.

⁵ 2 Samuel ii, 5; *ibid.* iii, 17-19.

summary punishment of murder, without mitigation on account of motive. Thus, when he received the news of the death of Ishbosheth, Saul's son, and therefore his rival to the throne, he ordered the immediate death of those answerable for the deed,¹ and the narrative displays the sincerity of his views :

**Davidic
religion.**

“ When one told me saying, Behold Saul is dead, thinking to have brought good tidings, I took hold of him and slew him . . . How much more, when wicked men have slain a righteous person in his own house upon his bed, shall I not require his blood of your hand, and take you away from the earth ? ” David's dirge upon Saul and Jonathan,² and his lamentation over Abner,³ both of which are in early poetic form, reveal a trait of character in vivid contrast to the ruthlessness of Samuel and of others whose names had been extolled in the past as saviours of Israel.⁴ In David there were qualities of mercy and of affection that may, indeed, under the circumstances of his times, have led him into danger and difficulty, but reflect the moral aspect of Yahwism already emerging at the time of Moses,⁵ but long submerged in the north by the nation's struggles. His reign and his example mark the beginnings of a higher conception of religion by the application of its precepts to human conduct. The Psalm attributed to him in the 2nd Book of Samuel, chapter xxii, embodies this new thought, and offers in this respect a sharp contrast

¹ 2 Samuel iv, 5.

² 2 Samuel i, 19 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, iii, 33 ff.

⁴ Cf. Judges iii, 29.

⁵ See above, p. 174.

to Deborah's old triumph song, which it rivals in martial spirit. The words of v. 21 :

*The Lord rewarded me according to my righteousness,
According to the cleanness of my hands hath he recom-
pensed me*

are sufficient to illustrate the ethical tendency of this age, and read like an echo of David's personal attitude in life to God and man. In view of this very marked development, it may be questioned whether this Psalm is placed here in its proper historical setting ; yet it contains little or nothing inconsistent with the tradition and experiences of the Davidic age, which on the other hand, it reflects in numerous suggestive passages.

The contrast indicated above between David and Samuel is not intended to minimize the influence upon the nation of the latter's integrity of character. Samuel truly "stood like a rock" for Yahweh and Israel.¹ His motto, however, was Force ; and if he had not urged this precept upon Saul and the people, it seems hardly possible that they would have emerged successfully from their struggles. Though gentleness did not appeal to him and was indeed foreign to his temperament, he upheld, under the most difficult conditions, the principles of right and purity in justice.² In particular may be noted his denunciation of bribery, called ransom, with intent to deflect the course of justice, resulting, if unchecked, in its complete subversion. Samuel was no less a pillar of Yahwism than David ; the examples of

¹ Cf. Phythian-Adams : *The Call of Israel*, p. 93.

² 1 Samuel, xii, 3.

their combined lives may be summed up in two words, Strength and Mercy, qualities which become indelibly associated with Yahweh in the development of religious thought.¹

Under the heading of Domestic Life, there is little to claim special attention at this stage. Features of the house include an opening for light and air in each room,² with a lattice for the women's apartments. When David was pursued by Saul, Michal let him down through the window that he might escape. As early as the time of Deborah, her song pictures the mother of Sisera looking through a latticed window; and a later reference in the time of Ahaziah shows this to have become a permanent feature of the dwelling-house.³ A spring, as at Jericho, was usually the common property of the inhabitants; but some houses were known to possess private wells, as at Bahurim,⁴ where Absalom came to a man's house which had a well in his court whither they went down. "And the woman took and spread a covering over the well's mouth, and spread corn thereon; and the thing was not known."

With regard to the roof, the modern Bedouin practice is to stretch matting over beams let into the mud-brick walls, about one foot from the top, and that this method was used in the time of Joshua is clearly shown in the remains of burnt beams and matting found in some of the excavated houses in Jericho. The larger houses, however, must even then

¹ Cf. 2 Samuel xxii, 26, 33, 36.

² 1 Samuel xix, 12.

³ Judges v, 28, E. 2 Kings i, 2.

⁴ 2 Samuel xvii, 18-19.

have possessed a solid flat roof, for Rahab hid the spies there and covered them with the stalks of flax placed there to dry. There was evidently some danger attached to this practice of using the flat roof, at least as the houses grew in size, for in Deuteronomy orders are given that when a new house is to be built a battlement should be made at the same time for the roof, "lest blood be upon the house if any man fall from thence."¹ Incidentally, this suggests that the law recognized even then the responsibility of the owner of property for any accident that might happen to the workers on an estate.

That David enjoyed a roof of this description is clear from the fact that when he first beheld Bath-Sheba, he is said to have arisen off his bed one even-tide, and to have walked upon the roof of the king's house.² This passage, together with the fact that Ishbosheth lay on his bed at noon when called upon by the sons of Rimmon,³ shows that the mid-day siesta was usual at least among the upper classes, and that their beds were, as a rule, raised from the ground, since Saul also is said to have raised himself from the floor and sat upon the bed.⁴ In David's house at Gibeah, his wife Michal, Saul's daughter, had a bed with bedclothes and a pillow of goats-hair.⁵ Another prince, the Canaanite Adoni-Bezek, is said to have had a table raised above the floor,⁶ probably merely a large tray upon a wooden stand as still used among the upper classes. Such instances

¹ Deuteronomy xxii, 8.

² Samuel xii, 2.

³ 2 Samuel iv, 5 ;

⁴ *Ibid.*, xxviii, 23. Cf. 2 Samuel xvii, 28-9.

⁵ 1 Samuel xix, 13.

⁶ Judges i, 7.

from the royal households of the day do not necessarily apply more generally to the people, for the Bedouin practice is to spread both the "table," often simply a mat or blanket, as well as the bedding, a mat and blankets, upon the floor. In scorpion districts, and hence in towns, the bedstead develops early; thus the villages of the Sudan, by the Nile, use wooden bed frames, cross-strung; but in the desert the necessity is not so great.

The gates of the cities swung upon stone sockets, inside a frame, and were fixed by a bar; at least such was the case at Gaza and at Mizpah. The doors of houses opened outwards and could certainly be bolted,¹ as Amnon ordered his servants to bolt his door against his sister; and it is possible that in some cases they could also be locked, for Isaiah uses the expression: "The key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder, so he shall open, and none shall shut."² But, of course, this may only show that keys were used in the time of the writer.

A cooking pot, or caldron, is mentioned in connexion with the sacrificial rites at Shiloh,³ and cooking pots made of clay freely mixed with powdered flint, have been found in excavations. They are round-bottomed with a prominent out-turning rim,⁴ and under the simple conditions of tent life they would be supported over the fire on the stones or bricks between which the fuel was laid. Under more developed conditions, they may have been suspended by means of hooks⁵ from a tripod, for which the rim

¹ 2 Samuel xiii, 17.

² Isaiah xxii, 22.

³ 1 Samuel ii, 14.

⁴ Cf. Albright, *Ann. A.S.O.R.*, xii, pp. 145 ff.

⁵ Cf. the "flesh-hook of three teeth," 1 Samuel ii, 13.

would serve a useful purpose, but there is no actual indication of such a practice.

The food-stuffs mentioned give a clear indication of more settled conditions and the development of agriculture. Bread¹ and baking² receive, as a matter

Food. of course, frequent mention. Usually bread would be prepared in thin pan-cakes, rather like modern oat-cakes; but the references to cakes and loaves in connexion with religious festivals and the offerings at a shrine,³ presumably indicate cobs of bread, such as have actually been found in the excavations of Jericho, and the same may have been prepared for journeys as being more durable.⁴

The LXX version of a passage in II Samuel⁵ alludes to the cleaning of wheat from the [grind]stones. Corn would probably be milled between a pair of circular grindstones; but the more primitive method of preparing flour by pounding the grain to which water is gradually added in a hollow stone, and of then rolling the dough, at the consistency of porridge, with a suitable rounded stone as rolling pin, upon a slab, probably prevailed among the bulk of the community, as both these classes of utensil are a common feature on all excavated sites. Cereals actually found at Jericho include wheat and barley, and more doubtfully oats, millet, and also lentils.⁶ The Biblical references to parched corn⁷ suggest also

¹ 1 Samuel ii, 5; x, 3. 2 Samuel vi, 19.

² 1 Samuel xxviii, 24.

³ 1 Samuel xxi, 1, 3 f. 2 Samuel vi, 19, etc.

⁴ 1 Samuel x, 3.

⁵ 2 Samuel iv, 6.

⁶ Cf. 2 Samuel xvii, 28; xxiii, 11; also Ezekiel iv, 9.

⁷ 1 Samuel xvii, 17; xxv, 18.

a kind of maize. Other familiar foodstuffs include "leben" or sour milk,¹ a standard preparation among the Bedouin, cheese,² broth of boiled meat,³ and, as a speciality, the fat tail of sheep.⁴ The common diet was, as to-day, almost vegetarian; meat was only eaten on special or ceremonial occasions. Wild honey was collected,⁵ and the mention of figs⁶ and raisins⁷ in the Bible, indicates the development of horticulture and settled life, like the remains of onions, olives and peppercorns actually found at Jericho.

Occupations, under the prevailing conditions of unrest and insecurity, are almost confined to the necessary work of life. Pastoral duties are described by numerous passages, and that they involved an element of danger is suggested by the boast of David that he had killed a lion and a bear while watching his father's flocks. The herdsmen of Saul acted under direction of a chief.⁸ Of particular interest is the reference to the sheepfold in a walled-in cave,⁹ a common sight in the country to-day. Sheep shearing remained the occasion of a festival among the Israelites,¹⁰ and was doubtless shared by the whole community. Specially instructive, at this juncture, are the further indications of agricultural life. The "furrow's length in an acre of

¹ Judges iv, 19; v, 35.

² Judges vi, 19.

⁵ 1 Samuel xiv, 25.

⁷ 1 Samuel xxv, 18.

⁸ 1 Samuel xxi, 7.

⁹ 1 Samuel xxiv, 3.

¹⁰ 1 Samuel xxv, 4 f., 36. 2 Samuel xiii, 23.

² 1 Samuel xvii, 18.

⁴ 1 Samuel ix, 24.

⁶ 1 Samuel xxv, 18; xxx, 12.

land,"¹ an expression better rendered "half furrow in a yoke of land," is a purely agricultural simile, indicating the length of a furrow in the acreage that could be ploughed in one day by a yoke of oxen. The allusion to Saul, "following the oxen out of the field,"² already mentioned, rather suggests that ploughing was now not only one of the common tasks, but was regarded as a matter of primary national importance, together with the consequential duties of the harvest,³ and the threshing.⁴ Carts were used,⁵ and were drawn either by oxen or on special occasions by "milch kine," as when the Philistines returned the Ark to Beth-Shemesh; and though agricultural implements including plough shares, forks and axes were quite familiar, there was difficulty in keeping them in order⁶ when smiths were forbidden to Israel by the Philistines; but the working of metal was familiar to the Kenites.⁷ Woodland was more extensive than to-day,⁸ but cedars and timber suitable for building and carpentry could only be obtained in the Lebanon, and had to be imported from Tyre,⁹ together with trained carpenters and masons. The Ras Shamra tablets also tell of the exportation of wood from Syria. On the highlands of Palestine the soil, though good, is not deep enough, as a rule, to nourish tall trees; so that though the olive and short oaks abound,

¹ 1 Samuel xiv, 14.

² 1 Samuel x, 5.

³ 1 Samuel xii, 17.

⁴ 1 Samuel xxiii, 1. 2 Samuel xxiv, 22.

⁵ 1 Samuel vi, 7.

⁶ 1 Samuel xiii, 20.

⁷ 1 Samuel xiii, 19.

⁸ Joshua xvii, 18. 1 Kings x, 27. Above, pp. 26, 253.

⁹ 2 Samuel v, 11

forestry and timber cutting have never developed as local industries. Though there is no direct mention of viticulture, this art must have been learnt from the inhabitants, since wine was made and carried in bottles,¹ usually of goat skin.

Among the village trades the reference to the weaver's beam² may be a later simile, though it is known, of course, that the Canaanites not only

Clothing. practised weaving but made embroidery,³ and most Bedouin are proficient

in weaving coarse stuffs from goat's hair. Though references to clothing at this time give little detail, they leave no doubt that, while still home-made⁴ and hardly changed in pattern from the older models, the Israelites' designs borrowed something from the fashions of the settled population, and gained in quality from the concentration of the actual weaving in a professional class. The homely mantle of home-spun goat-hair, and even the simple sheepskin of the night shepherd, have never gone out of use, and they are still familiar; but fine linen garments became known, and though at first used for ceremonial occasions,⁵ would doubtless be adopted by the upper classes and favoured wives. Even to-day the Bedouin women show a certain skill in the art of needlework, and their simple embroideries and other embellishments freely illustrate different traditional designs for the various tribes and clans.

¹ 1 Samuel xxv, 18.

² 1 Samuel xvii, 7.

³ Cf. Judges v, 30.

⁴ 1 Samuel ii, 19.

⁵ Judges xiv, 12, E.

The Canaanites had long worn garments reaching from the shoulder to the knees, made of dyed cloth, trimmed with braid and tassels and often elaborately embroidered.¹ Illustrations are found in the mural paintings of the rock tombs of Egypt, dating from the early Hyksos period. Sooner or later the Israelites copied this idea,² and though we have no contemporary description of the kind, it is more than probable that the process was already at work, and that from the king and priesthood its influence was gradually extended to the people as a whole. So far as the pattern of the garment is known,³ the apparel called in Hebrew *maddin*, with which the sword was usually worn,⁴ was a loose outer garment of square-cut pattern. Among the poorer classes it was replaced by a mantle or *simlah*,⁵ which was wide and loose and usually made of goat-hair. This could be readily converted into a sack, and, like the *salmeh*,⁶ was also used for sleeping in and other purposes. It is this garment which, if taken as a pledge, had to be returned to a poor man at nightfall.⁷ A long upper tunic of special character, the *meil*, was worn by kings and prophets, and adopted also by women of position.⁸ The linen wrapper,⁹ worn also by the better classes, consisted of rectangular pieces of fine

¹ Cf. Judges v, 30.

² Cf. the picture of one of Jehu's Ambassadors on the Black Obelisk (Brit. Mus.) to face p. 328.

³ Kirkpatrick in *Cam. Bible*. 1 Samuel ii, 19.

⁴ Cf. Judges iii, 16. 1 Samuel xx, 8.

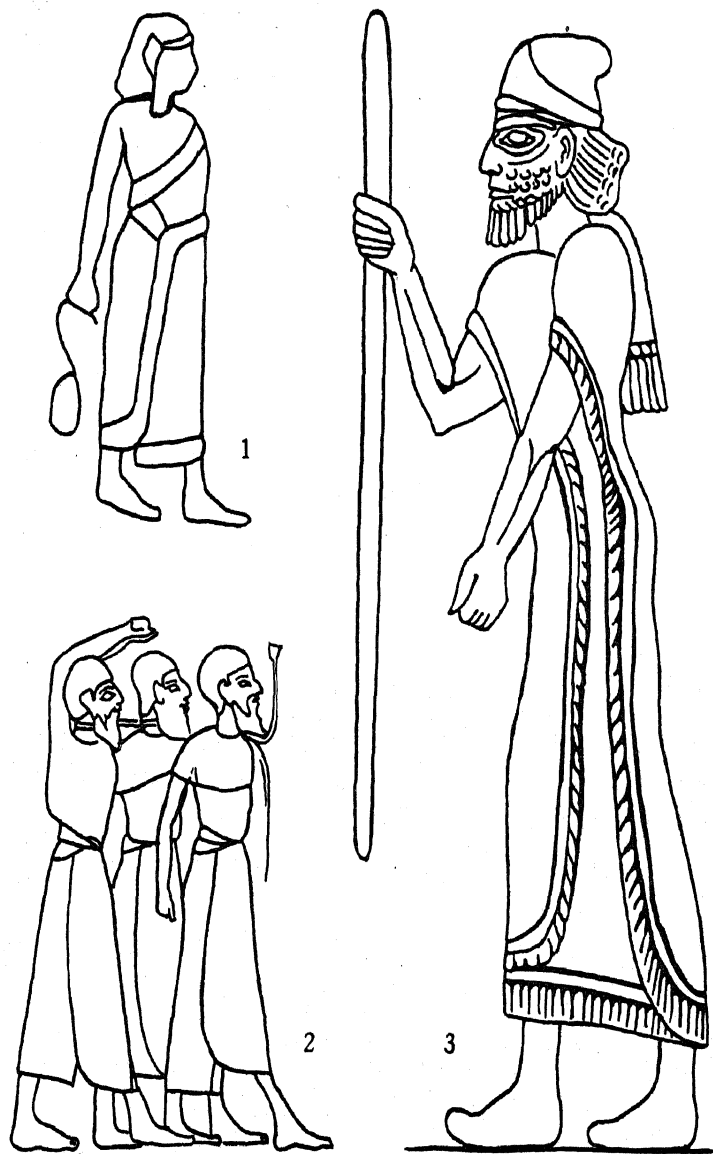
⁵ Judges viii, 25.

⁶ 2 Samuel xxi, 10.

⁷ Deuteronomy xxiv, 12-13. Cf. above, p. 213.

⁸ 1 Samuel xv, 27. 2 Samuel xiii, 18.

⁹ Judges xiv, 12, E.



COSTUMES OF VARIOUS PERIODS

1. CANAANITE COSTUME: 17TH CENTURY, B.C. (FROM A HYKSOS SCARAB FROM JERICHO)
2. COSTUMES OF NORTHERN PALESTINE: 13TH CENTURY, B.C. (INHABITANTS OR PRIESTS OF BETH-ANATH IN GALILEE TAKEN PRISONERS BY RAMSES II)
3. ISRAELITE COSTUME: 9TH CENTURY, B.C. (FROM THE OBELISK OF SHALMANESER III)

and thin linen, and seems to have been adopted directly from the inhabitants of the country, being represented as worn by the Syrian captives of Ramses III, *c.* 1190 B.C. Such innovations would hardly affect the dress of the great bulk of the population at this time, though later many, even of the working people, would begin to acquire the new robes for their religious festivals and ceremonial occasions such as marriage.

This was the dark age for the Israelites, and education, like nearly all other elements of culture, was retrograde. Samuel and David knew how to

**Primitive
customs.**

write, and the latter employed scribes, but among the peasantry there was little or no trace of any intellectual life. Even the art of ballad-making and minstrelsy fell into abeyance, until the establishment of the kingdom under David ushered in more peaceful conditions and marked the beginning of a new era. It is not surprising that the records of this age disclose the free survival or revival of primitive customs and ideas, some of which may be traced into the developed practices of the monarchy: eating flesh with the blood was a matter of reproach¹; heaps of stones were piled to keep down evil spirits,² as of old³; certain stones⁴ and trees⁵ were still held sacred; and the superstitious fear of counting still prevailed.⁶

¹ 1 Samuel xiv, 33.

² 2 Samuel xviii, 17.

³ Joshua vii, 26.

⁴ 1 Samuel vi, 14, 18; vii, 12; xx, 19.

⁵ 1 Samuel xiv, 2, xxii, 6; xxxi, 13, etc.

⁶ 2 Samuel xxiv, 1, 10, etc.

Matriarchal survivals may be traced in the naming of the child by the mother,¹ the "sadiqa" marriage,² and the possibility of marriage between sister and brother not of the same mother.³ In this connexion, a significant custom associated with the accession to the kingship, and possibly reflecting matrilinear rights, is found in the importance attached to marriage with the eldest daughter of the ruling prince,⁴ extending to relations with the female members of the household. Even the possession of a monarch's concubines established a claim to the succession, and was the motive of Absalom's action under Ahitophel's advice,⁵ while for a similar reason Abner was suspected by Ishbosheth of disloyalty and high treason.⁶ Thus David, though he had been promised Saul's eldest daughter in marriage, was not allowed to marry her owing to Saul's suspicions that he was aspiring to the throne, and had in consequence to be content with the second daughter, Michal: his re-union with her at a later stage helped, doubtless, to consolidate his claim to the throne.

The kingdom of Saul, as inherited by Ishbosheth his son, comprised the tribal areas of Benjamin and Ephraim as far as Jezreel, and extended beyond Jordan to include Gilead. David commenced his career as King of Judah, and the death of Ishbosheth enabled him to unite the two kingdoms. At this time it seems probable that the tribes of the

¹ 1 Samuel iv, 21.

² Judges viii, 31; xiv, 1 f.

³ 2 Samuel xiii, 13.

⁴ 1 Samuel xviii, 7 ff.

⁵ 2 Samuel xvi, 22.

⁶ *Ibid.*, iii, 7.

extreme north, Asher¹ and Zebulun, as well as Naphtali and Dan, had come temporarily under the rule of Tyre and Sidon. But the extension of David's conquests and prestige enabled him to hand on to Solomon a modest empire and an established throne.

¹ Cf. Judges xviii, 7. From the Ras Shamra tablets we have a clear indication that this was the case with Asher, with whom Zebulun was then at war. Under Solomon's administration the name of Asher was revived, *see* below, p. 341.

CHAPTER X.

THE UNITED MONARCHY.

1000-930 B.C.

Historical note : validity of the records : the succession to the throne. Political organization : administrative divisions : tribal elements. War : army organization : introduction of chariotry : the war code. Law and justice : modifications in civil laws. Social conditions : population : taxation and labour levy. Solomon's trade and commerce : his uneconomic expenditure and wealth : his industries. Architecture : music and art : the Temple. Religious practices and beliefs : extraneous influences : Yahweh, God of Israel.

THE union of the Hebrew population of Palestine effected during the life-time of King David endured until the last days of his son and successor Solomon, lasting, therefore, half a century or more. The sources for this period are to be found in chapters vii-xxiv of the 2nd Book of Samuel, and chapters i-xi of the 1st Book of Kings ; and these more or less contemporary materials may be supplemented by cautious reference to the parallel passages in the Books of Chronicles, which, however, critics regard as a much later compilation. Owing to the fact that David's reign is not described in chronological sequence, it is not possible to point to a particular time at which the throne may be regarded

as finally established. Thus, in 2 Samuel vii, 1, for example, we are informed that David "found rest from all his enemies round about"; but the opening verse of chapter viii, introduced by the words "after this," finds him at war again with the Philistines. The rest of the chapter contains in fact a summary of David's military successes, and discloses¹ the outline of his organization at the end of his career. Chapter ix, however, begins another account of his middle life, more personal in character, but still valuable as it is obviously derived from a contemporary document.²

The lack of sequence in the description of events in David's reign does not however radically affect our present enquiry. It is clear, in broad outline, that this monarch not only succeeded in welding all Israel together, but was able thereafter to embark upon a policy of expansion, almost imperial in its outlook and achievement, in which his own military genius and character played a leading part. His dominion extended beyond Judah and Israel proper to the tribes of the extreme north and beyond Jordan, and embraced as well the various surviving non-Israelitish elements in the population on both sides. With his position secured by the loyalty of those who had shared his fortunes, David was now able to delegate not only his personal command of the forces, but much of his direct control in other State affairs, political and religious, and so gradually to encircle the throne with the elements of an organized administration. In this scheme, Joab was

¹ In vv. 15-18.

² As far as chapter xx.

“over the host,” at the head of the war department ; Jehoshaphat was “recorder,” the king’s remembrancer and archivist ; Zadok and Ahimelech were priests ; Seraiah was scribe ; and Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada, was in command of the newly instituted royal guard, the “Cherethites and Pelethites.” Some of David’s sons were also priests.¹ In accordance with tribal tradition the king retained for himself the office of chief judge, constituting himself in effect the final court of appeal. The narrative suggests that as old age crept on, David tended to relax his grip, so that Absalom, at the outset of his seditious campaign, was able to make a grievance of the fact that when any man had a suit which should come before the king for judgment, there was no man deputed by the king to hear his case.² In his declining years also, he allowed the normal succession of Adonijah, the eldest surviving son, to be thwarted by an intrigue. The precise stages in the subsequent development of the constitution are obscured in the narrative by disproportionately detailed accounts of these and other personal episodes, which are sometimes elaborated as object lessons from a religious and moral standpoint.

This comment applies with peculiar force to the narrative of the reign of Solomon, which becomes so tendentious as to suggest that it was drafted originally by the court recorder with the special object of flattering the vanity of the king by adulation of his riches and attainments. The text, in this case, certainly demands careful scrutiny. It comes almost as a revelation, for example, to find that Solomon’s

¹ 2 Samuel viii, 16-18

² *Ibid.*, xv, 2, 3.

far-famed Temple, so laboriously described, was only sixty cubits (not a hundred feet) in length, being, in fact, much smaller than some of his other buildings, including his own palatial residence, on the construction of which he spent thirteen years. The essentially personal nature of the narrative, moreover, though truly reflecting Solomon's character and policy, almost excludes fresh light upon the social conditions and life of the people, towards whose welfare Solomon was, in fact, apathetic ; so that on certain matters there is little or nothing to add to the sociological information already considered in the preceding chapter. It is indeed to be inferred that during his reign social conditions were retrograde, and that the community as a whole had little chance of sharing in Solomon's personal prosperity or profiting from his various importations.

Solomon was still in his teens when he ascended the throne, and he seems to have modelled his life on the tendencies of David's declining years. Unlike his predecessors, he had taken no share in Israel's struggle for freedom ; and there was no call on him to shoulder arms. After his crown had been secured in the traditional manner by the removal of his elder brother Adonijah, together with Joab and others who supported his rival's claim, and his country's defences had been organized, he elected to live in peace and comfort in the characteristic oriental fashion, even though by so doing he lost control of some of the more distant areas which David had annexed, such as Moab and Damascus. His diplomatic relations, however, extended widely, and were crowned by marriage with a daughter of the contemporary Pharaoh, a fact which may have increased

to some extent the tendency of his ambitions. In commercial affairs he was undeniably very astute; his trade relations expanded, and a prosperity previously unknown in Israel enabled him to satisfy his love of ostentation, of which his elaborate buildings gave typical expression. Under such conditions new materials and motives were introduced from abroad, and a great impetus was undoubtedly given to the architecture of the country, for his works were not confined to Jerusalem, and a radical improvement in the art of building may be traced from this time onwards.¹ The same result was probably true of various other branches of culture and industry, such as wood and metal working, weaving, art-designs and music, about which, however, there is little direct information in the records of his reign. Solomon's experiments in decentralized administration, and the organization of labour, rank among the most striking features of his reign, and help to complete the picture of this age.

The accession of Solomon to David's throne was not the natural outcome of hereditary right: the appointment was personal and selective; and though it is said to have been ratified by popular acclaim, this was due in large measure to David's prestige, and the steps taken by him to secure the accomplishment of his intentions.² Sending for Zadok the priest, Nathan the prophet, and Benaiah, the commander of the household guard, he gave them orders to take appropriate steps to anoint Solomon forthwith

¹ Cf. T. R. P. Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'Exploration Récente*, pp. 38 ff.

² 1 Kings i, 32. ff.

as king over Israel. The fact that, according to the narrative, it was Benaiah who returned the loyal answer, is not without significance ; and the description of the subsequent proceedings is full of interest and colour. "So Zadok the priest, and Nathan the prophet, and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, and the Cherethites and Pelethites, went down, and caused Solomon to ride upon King David's mule and brought him to Gihon, [the ancient spring at the foot of Ophel], and Zadok the priest took the horn of oil out of the Tent and anointed Solomon. And they blew the trumpet, and all the people said God save King Solomon. And all the people came up after him, and piped with pipes, and rejoiced with great joy, so that the earth rent with the sound of them."

It seems quite obvious that Solomon had taken Absalom's place as David's favourite son, and that his mother Bathsheba's influence and intrigues¹ secured his accession to the throne. This does not disguise the fact that the leaders of Israel, including the chief priest and the head of the army, had anticipated the succession of Adonijah, the eldest surviving son, as a matter of hereditary right, and had made preparations to that end.² The election on constitutional lines at this juncture of an experienced and acceptable ruler, would not only have consolidated the unity of Israel but might have founded an empire. The opportunity of the moment was very real : with Egypt in decline and Syria trembling with the prospect of another Assyrian invasion, the whole of the South might readily have formed itself

¹ 1 Kings i, 15 f. ; ii, 13 f.

² *Ibid.*, i, 5-7.

into a defensive alliance under a common leader, and the course of subsequent history might have been quite different. The selection of the youthful Solomon was in any case disastrous: he proved to be in no sense great, and his exclusively southern parentage tended further to provoke the mistrust and jealousies of the northern tribes. His mother, Bathsheba, was the widow of Uriah, a professional Hittite soldier, and daughter of Ammiel of Giloh. The last named was probably the son of Ahitophel, one of David's trusty councillors and, like Uriah, a member of the Thirty. Giloh, though not precisely located, lay somewhere in the southern hills of Judah; so that Solomon on both sides was a Judahite, and in comparison with his brother had no special claim of blood or birth-right to the throne.

The "affinity" made by Solomon with the Pharaoh had a political significance no less important than the opportunities it afforded for commercial enterprises. Under the shadow of the **Political organization.** greater power he was able to devote himself to developing the resources and administration of his country to the satisfaction of his own ambitions, unhampered by external considerations. The Philistine wars, which had so long preoccupied the nation and restrained expansion, now came entirely to an end. The Philistines themselves, though still perhaps the nominal representatives of Egypt in the land, were confined to their original settlements on the seaboard between Ashdod and Gaza,¹ and, according to the accepted theory, may even have contributed their contingent

¹ The cities between Ekron and Gath are said to have been taken or recovered by Israel in the time of Saul (1 Samuel vii, 14).

of Pelethites to the royal guard of Solomon. Presumably, also, through their agency or collaboration, the independence of Gezer was finally broken by Egypt,¹ and the site was handed over to Solomon as part of his Egyptian bride's dowry. This master-stroke left Solomon in control of the great high road which ran through his kingdom by way of Gezer, Megiddo, and Hazor,² the importance of which was incalculable from the commercial standpoint as it was the only arterial road between Egypt and Syria, and had numerous ramifications. From Hazor it connected with Sidon and the Phœnician coast by the fords of the Litāny; from Megiddo with Tyre by the plain of Acre and also with Bethshan and the country beyond Jordan by the valley of Jezreel; at Yemma or Aphek in the plain of Sharon it found ready communication with the port of Dor, a small but sheltered harbour now within the territory of Israel. Gezer commanded the nearest approach to the port of Joppa (Jaffa) which at this time would also be available under the treaty arrangement with the King of Tyre. From the same centre, the main road up the hills to Jerusalem passed, as in all later times, by the valley of Ajalon near Bethhoron, a mid-way position which Solomon did not fail to strengthen.³ This route, it is to be inferred, had already been arranged for chariots by the Philistines⁴; and other tracks in the vicinity

¹ This expedition implies the visit of Egyptian officials, followed by a new definition of the political zones of the Israelites and the Philistines.

² Above, p. 33.

³ 1 Kings ix, 17.

⁴ 1 Samuel i, 35.

of Jerusalem were passable by carts.¹ Thence another trade route led eastward by the fords of the Jordan, near Jericho, where a great stone building covering the site of the former palace conceivably marks the position of another of Solomon's outposts. Further south the garrisons established by David in the land of Edom² made it possible for Solomon, in league with the King of Tyre, to make free use of an important route across the Negeb and the Arabah to the head of the gulf of Akabah, an arm of the Red Sea, and so to embark in maritime ventures as far as distant Ophir.³ The same garrisons that assured the safe transit of Solomon's convoys across the deserts established also his control over a main caravan route between Egypt and the East, which passed by way of Petra. In those days of Egypt's declining power, when the Pharaoh was no longer able to maintain effective garrisons in Syria, Solomon proved thus a valuable vassal and ally, and he did not fail to reap the full advantage of his situation.

The steps taken to secure these trade routes⁴ are, in themselves, an indication of a well-developed scheme of administration, made possible by these favourable circumstances. The numbering of the people by David, and the itinerary taken by the officers detailed for that purpose,⁵ suggest already the beginnings of a system by which at any rate the

**Solomon's
Adminis-
trative
Divisions.**

¹ 2 Samuel vi, 3.

² 2 Samuel viii, 14.

³ See below, p. 371.

⁴ Cf. below, p. 378.

⁵ 2 Samuel xxiv, 5-7.

army would be regularly supplied with recruits and the ground would be prepared for further developments. The provincial districts now became permanent seats of resident officials, charged, according to the text,¹ with the supply of foodstuffs for the court and its growing army of retainers, in reality with the collection of the royal tithes. The new administrative areas, so far as it is possible to define their positions,² corresponded broadly with the traditional tribal allocations, modified here and there by political considerations. It is true that the preserved text³ is mutilated and difficult of interpretation, but differences of opinion as to various details do not disguise the salient facts. Of the twelve tribes, two, namely Naphtali in the extreme north and Benjamin in the south, retained, under the new scheme, their names and territory, the latter having in the meanwhile absorbed the former Hivite, or Horite, area⁴; while three other tribes are mentioned by name, and the apparent changes in their territorial areas may to some extent be explained by events in their past history. Ephraim retained the hill country with Shiloh, but had lost Shechem⁵, its northern boundary being in all probability the Wady Kanah. Asher took the place of Zebulun, which presumably it had absorbed⁶ having lost meanwhile its own access to the coast.

¹ 1 Kings iv, 27-28 ; 22-23 (in this order).

² Ably discussed by Jack, *Samaria in Ahab's Time*, with map, p. 92 ; and Albright, *Admins. Divs. of Israel and Judah*, in J.P.O.S. v, pp. 17 ff, with map, p. 29 ; reviewed by Robinson, *Hist. of Israel*, p. 263 Addtl Note D, with map, p. 264, on which our Map is based, p. 344.

³ 1 Kings iv, 7-20.

⁴ Cf. p. 285.

⁵ Cf. p. 258.

⁶ Cf. p. 331 n.

Issachar was confined to the north-east of Esdraelon, and excluded from the valley of Jezreel, but reached down to the Jordan. The territory of Manasseh was divided into two districts, west and east of Jordan, though the original tribal name seems not to have been preserved. The coastal area to the immediate west, which included Israel's only free outlet to the sea, the port of Dor,¹ had evidently been wrested from the Thekels, who are known from the story of Wen-Amon² to have been in possession of it until a century before, and formed a new district by name Naphath Dor. To the south of this another new district, including a part of the Shephelah and the plain of Ajalon as far south as Gezer, comprised an area which of old had baffled the designs of both Dan and Ephraim,³ and had remained in the possession of its Amorite population with whom eventually Israel made peace.⁴ The most significant political change was the creation of a new district, in and about the plain of Esdraelon, which extended eastwards by the valley of Jezreel past Bethshan to the Jordan, notwithstanding the traditional claims of Manasseh and Issachar in this area.⁵ At first sight it looks as though the Canaanite element in the great old cities like Megiddo and Taanach, which had so long withstood the efforts of Israel to annex them, still remained strong enough to claim a measure of hegemony or at least special consideration. But if Solomon's policy really aimed at reducing the traditional democratic powers of the

¹ Later Dora, *see* p. 33, 232.

² Breasted, *Anc. Rec. Eg.*, iv, 365.

³ Judges i, 34, 29.

⁴ 1 Samuel vii, 14.

⁵ Above, p. 253.

tribes themselves, it is equally certain that he would not have tolerated the co-ordinated existence of a nucleus of political and racial rivals, whose intrigues might have endangered the success of his despotic aims. This in fact is made clear by a record of his attitude towards such racial groups.¹ The segregation of this area as a separate administrative district can be otherwise explained. These plains comprised the richest corn lands in the country, and we may suspect, from the fact that Solomon established a strong outpost at Megiddo,² which he refortified, that they were now regarded as part of the royal domain, to the exclusion of any tribal claims, traditional or acquired. East of the Jordan no tribal names survive in the official list; and three independent districts, based also on historical developments, take their place. Gilead became reduced to the legendary kingdom of Sihon, between the Arnon and the Jabbok.³ Northwards Abel-Meholah became the centre of the cultivable area formerly attributed to Mâchîr, the eastern branch of Manasseh; and northwards again Ramoth-Gilead gave its name to a third district peopled perhaps in some measure by the tribe of Gad, the possession of which had been finally secured by David.⁴

Though several tribal names are missing which may be deemed to have had enough political importance to secure mention, too much stress should not be laid upon this fact, which may be due simply to subsequent editing of the list itself, or to its mutilated condition. Many commentators hold that Solomon's administrative

**Tribal
elements.**

¹ 1 Kings ix, 20.

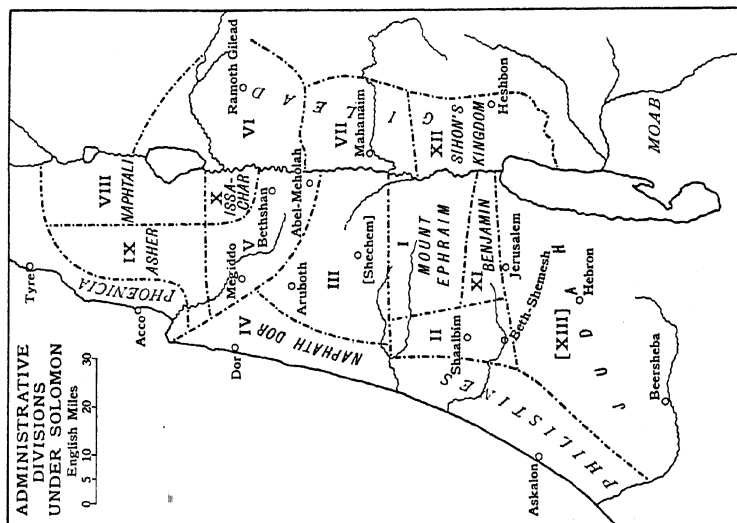
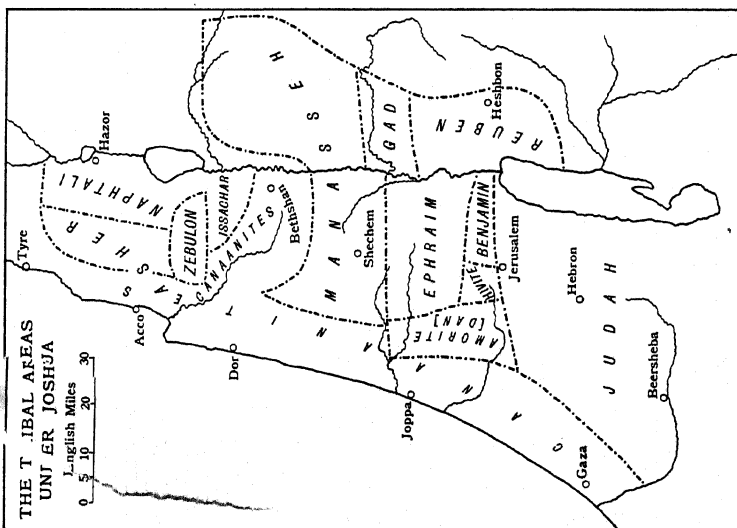
² Above, pp. 36 ff.

³ Judges xi, 22 E.

⁴ 2 Samuel viii, 2-5.

divisions ignored the original tribal boundaries, but this view cannot be maintained for the simple reason that with one exception the original tribal boundaries are uncertain, as they are not described in the old sources. The original tribal detachments were small in numbers ; they roamed at will through relatively large areas defined mostly by natural features,¹ the names of which were supplemented or replaced a thousand years later in the editorial descriptions by those of other places that had demonstrably no existence at the first. Comparison of the map showing the approximate positions of Solomon's divisions with those of the tribal areas, indicates, on the other hand, a very marked correspondence, which is thrown into relief by contrast with the later administrative areas under Assyria or even Herod. Thus, we find the number of Solomon's divisions to be twelve, a figure which corresponds with the traditional number of the tribes. It is true that two of the comprised areas (Nos. 2 and 4 in the list) are new ; but two tribes are not represented, viz., Judah and Levi, so that the correspondence in numbers is maintained ; and it is further borne out by the fact that three of the divisions are located east of Jordan. Of the remaining seven to the west of Jordan, five preserve the tribal names ; and of these, two retain their traditional areas, so far as these are known, while the other three approximate to their original positions. Although the list is incomplete and may have contained other names or information, it is clear that the tribal areas were not ignored, but on the contrary, formed the natural basis for Solomon's

¹ *E.g.* the southern boundary of Ephraim, Joshua xvi, 1-3, J.



divisions. However short-sighted he may have been, Solomon was not so unwise as to invite rebellion when seeking primarily to secure additional tithes and service from his people.

The conspicuous absence of Judah from the list claims separate examination. It is commonly held that as the list purports to indicate the monthly tithes due to the throne from each district in rotation, the omission of Judah indicates a case of privilege or royal favour. Such would certainly be consistent with the desert principle prevailing throughout Arabia, that a chief must not tax his own tribesmen. If a king receive gifts or tribute, he must be reigning over subjects not of his own clan, whom therefore he is not otherwise bound to protect and help at his own expense. David, the nation's king, seems to have raised no tribute from his Israelite subjects, with whom, like Saul, he nevertheless divided the booty from his victorious campaigns. It is difficult however, to believe that Solomon would exclude his own tribe from all national obligation. A different explanation seems more likely on general grounds, and is supported by the plausible emendation of the text concluding the list of districts, to read "and a prefect [*našib*] who was in the land of Judah."¹ From this it may be inferred that this area was even then administered directly from the capital, and subjected to some special obligation, such as the maintenance of the household troops, for which no special provision is disclosed. The very silence of the records, in view of all the circumstances, suggests some simple explanation of this kind.

¹ 1 Kings, iv, 19-20. Cf. Albright, *The Administrative Divisions of Israel and Judah*, in J.P.O.S., vol. i, p. 27.

The scheme of administrative districts just considered transpires in the Biblical text as a schedule of officers charged with the provincial administration. The other chief offices of the Government were based upon the system inaugurated by David in his later life.¹ The first place is given to the priest, in the person of Azariah, a son of Zadok.² Then follow the names of two scribes, who on Egyptian precedent³ would be the chief Treasury officials charged with the sealing, storing and registration of the tithes and tribute. Jehoshaphat, the recorder, as in David's reign, filled the position of the State archivist,⁴ a post of growing importance. Benaiah, whom David placed over the royal guard, was now over the host, and therefore at the head of the army. Zadok himself and Abiathar were priests. One of Nathan's sons, also called Azariah, supervised the organization, being "over the officers," while another son, Zabud, was principal officer and "king's friend." The last-named post had evidently now become official, but had its origin, to judge from Hushai's relations with David, under whom it is first mentioned,⁵ in the position of a purely personal friend and confidential adviser. The list concludes with the name of a controller of

¹ See p. 334.

² 1 Kings iv, 2-6.

³ Above, p. 53.

⁴ Cf. 2 Kings xviii, 18, 37; 2 Chronicles xxxiv, 8. The Persian court maintains a similar official "whose duty it is to furnish the king and his officials with an account of all important events that take place in the kingdom, and to keep a record of them, and also to register the royal acts and decrees." Chardin, *Travels*, vol iii, p. 328, cited by Kirkpatrick, *Camb. Bible*, under 2 Samuel viii, 16.

⁵ 2 Samuel xv, 37, xvi, 16.

the household,¹ and a director of the levy, on whom fell the onerous task of raising the contingents of forced labour. Each of these high officials would doubtless be responsible for the organization of his separate department: their increased number and variety of duties betokens the inevitable growth of a bureaucracy around the monarch, a tendency seen in full development under the Pharaohs in Egypt.² In one respect the simile is not complete. There was as yet no grand vizier: the monarchy was still young and its traditions real. None the less, Solomon's love of pomp and his various preoccupations make it probable that he would become less and less able or inclined to maintain a personal control over the details of administration, so that in practice one of his ministers must have carried out this duty, and the position allotted to Azariah "over the officers" suggests the beginnings of this function.

Notwithstanding the new elements of government which changed circumstances and policy had introduced, the voice of the people, according to the old tribal custom, was still represented by a council or group of elders about the court. This survival of Bedouin democracy has been illustrated in various ways throughout the whole evolution of the kingship. Booty was sent by David to the Elders of Judah³; Abner conferred with the northern Elders,⁴ whose meeting at Hebron resulted in offering the united crown to David.⁵ Later, after Absalom's rebellion

¹ Cf. Isaiah xxii, 15.

² Above, p. 51 f.

³ 1 Samuel xxx, 26.

⁴ 2 Samuel iii, 17.

⁵ *Ibid.*, verse i ff.

had been quelled, David asked the Elders whether they wished him to return.¹ Even under Solomon, whose election, as has been pointed out was not strictly constitutional, in that apparently he did not subscribe to the tripartite oath sworn by Saul and David,² the Elders are said to have taken their part at the installation of the Ark; and that they nominally maintained their traditional rôle as the king's advisers is clear from a significant later reference,³ when Rehoboam rejected the advice of "the Elders that stood before Solomon, his father, while he was yet alive." Later again we find a summons sent to the Elders by writ in the case of Naboth,⁴ and other allusions indicate the long perpetuation of this old-time democratic institution. "Such was the strength of tradition and the prestige of the great Sheikhs that even a strong ruler could not feel his power was absolute; his success as a ruler and his very safety depended in no small measure on his working in harmony with the tribal elders."⁵

The army and methods in war had developed greatly under the warrior kings; and the growth of a military organization under David has been discussed.⁶ At the head was the captain of
 War. the host, Joab, who, like Saul of old, usually led one division himself. As a rule the force was divided into three divisions, the leadership of which, formerly reserved for members of the royal family, was now entrusted to chosen officers. Next

¹ 2 Samuel xix, 11, 12.

² Cf. p. 289.

³ 1 Kings xii, 6.

⁴ 1 Kings xxi, 1 ff.

⁵ Cf. E. Day, *A.J.S.L.*, xl, p. 98 ff.

⁶ Above, p. 313.

in status to these First Three came the Second Three,¹ warriors of proved loyalty and valour who might be entrusted with separate commands. A selected number called the Thirty,² formed of those whose deeds and daring had merited distinction, provided the further nucleus of a corps of officers. In addition, a central mobile force, consisting of sixty picked men, called the Heroes,³ seems at first to have formed, in effect, a body of household troops. Somewhat late in David's reign appeared a special royal guard, consisting of professional soldiers possibly 600 strong, the "Cherethites and Pelethites," commanded by one of the Second Three. Benaiah originally held this command:⁴ "He was more honourable than the Thirty, but he attained not the first Three."⁵ The origins and strength of the new guard remain problematical. It has generally been supposed that the Pelethites were a band of Philistines⁶ recruited from Gath and neighbourhood with whom David had been long associated, and the presence of "Ittai, the Gittite," among his earlier leaders lends some support to this view. The associated Cherethites, to judge by their name,

¹ Cf. 2 Samuel, xxiii, 8 ff.

² *Ibid.*, 24-39.

³ 2 Samuel x, 7; cf. xvi, 6; xx 7; xxiii, 8. A variant reading in the LXX introduces an element of doubt as to their numbers in the suggestion that the Heroes should perhaps be identified with the 600 Gittites, cf. 2 Samuel. xv, 18, and Kirkpatrick, *Camb. Bibl.*, *ad loc.*

⁴ 2 Samuel viii, 18, xxiii, 22.

⁵ *Ibid.*, v. 23.

⁶ The word Pelethite is commonly regarded as an artificial form of Philistine changed to give assonance with the name "Cherethite," and possibly also to disguise the foreign connexion. Cf. Moore, *Ency. Bib.*, col. 739,

might plausibly be recognized as immigrants from Crete, allies of the Philistines, and this seemed to be supported by the later traces of Cretan influence at Gaza.¹ But the recent interpretation of the Ras Shamra tablets² leads independently to the recognition of Chereth as the name of a district in the Negeb to the south of Gaza, and this confirms its position as disclosed by the first Biblical allusion.³

With this fact established, it may reasonably be argued as probable that the Pelethites also would be recruited from the desert peoples, and they may indeed have been a scattered remnant of the Reubenites, among whom traditionally Peleth was an ancestral name.⁴ In favour of this view may be urged the data which suggest that Reuben once had connexions west of Jordan;⁵ and the opinion of later Jewish scholars, who maintained that both groups represented Israelitish clans.⁶ The problem is certainly not solved; but the hypothesis which seems best to satisfy the existing indications would regard the Pelethites as, in fact, Philistines from Gath, and the Cherethites as their Hebrew adherents⁷ from the southern deserts. Such a corps, called variously the Gittites, Gibborim, or Heroes, was certainly long associated with David, and was originally recruited from the neighbourhood of

¹ Macalister, *The Philistines*, 112 f. Cook, *The Religion of Anc. Palestine*, 176, 180 f.

² Dussaud, *Les Phéniciens au Négeb*, *Rev. de l'Hist. des Relig.*, viii, 1933, p. 29.

³ 1 Samuel xxx, 14.

⁴ Numbers xvi, 1.

⁵ Cf. Cheyne, *Ency. Bibl.*, col. 2364 §. 3.

⁶ Cf. Hastings, *Dict. Bibl.*, p. 122, col. 2.

⁷ 1 Samuel xiv, 21.

Gath¹: this fact may indeed account for some confusion in the text, for if the Massoretic rendering is correct,² then the Pelethites were originally distinct from the Gittites.³ Subsequently the Heroes are referred to as "the mighty men,"⁴ but as we do not find them mentioned distinctively later in the reign of Solomon, they seem to have been ultimately incorporated in the royal guard, and the traditional figure of 600 may well indicate its united strength.

The main army, or Host, of Israel, still comprised in theory all the men of fighting age, a relic of tribal practice. The "chosen men" at the outset are said to have numbered 30,000⁵; but in response to the need for efficiency David seems to have made plans for the regular training of a more limited number, who would be liable to conscription. Such at any rate, is the implication of the trouble caused by his numbering the people throughout all the tribes,⁶ coupled with the definite statement in the Book of Chronicles.⁷ According to the latter source, which in this case seems to be admissible,⁸ the conscripts were called up for a month's training, 2,000 at a time, throughout the year, giving a grand total of 24,000 men. This figure is quite reasonable, for a large

¹ 2 Samuel x, 7, xv, 18.

² 2 Samuel xv, 18.

³ This passage and its variants suggest the possible interpretation that the Pelethites and Cherethites were originally recruited from among David's Gittites, including the Philistines and their Cherethite adherents, and formed a corps 600 strong.

⁴ 2 Samuel xx, 7.; 1 Kings i, 8, etc.

⁵ 2 Samuel vi, 1.

⁶ 2 Samuel xxiv, 2 f.

⁷ 1 Chronicles xxviii, 1, 15 (? P.).

⁸ The system here inaugurated remained substantially the basis of Solomon's labour levy. Below, p. 368.

and disciplined force must have been available to effect the sweeping conquests claimed for David over distant organized enemies. Each monthly draft was commanded by its specially appointed officer. At the same time there is little reason to doubt that the military organization as a whole became much more formal than that of old. Though one late reference implies that the contingents assembled, as formerly, under their customary leaders,¹ the heads of family groups, there is little reason to doubt that the division and sub-division of the ranks by thousands, hundreds and tens, possibly upon the Egyptian model, now came into being, each unit under its appointed officer,² as already foreshadowed by various anachronous allusions.³

Such in outline was the army organization inherited by Solomon: he was more concerned, however, with recruiting labour groups for work in the quarries and forests of the Lebanon than with the maintenance of an imperial army, though doubtless he may have employed the military system of recruiting for this purpose. One innovation of great importance, however, did become established under Solomon, namely the introduction of the chariot as an arm of war. The Israelites had long been familiar with its value: at the time of their entry into Palestine, they had found themselves unable to settle in the plains, where the Canaanites possessed chariots and were skilled in their use,⁴ and afterwards the Philistine charioteers were for long their masters.

¹ Deuteronomy xx, 9. Cf. below, p. 357.

² Exodus xviii, 21-25. Numbers xxxi, 14 [J.]. Deuteronomy i, 15. See p. 301.

³ 1 Samuel viii, 12, see p. 183.

⁴ 1 Samuel xiii, 5; 2 Samuel i, 6.

The centuries during which the Israelites had fought their battles on foot had developed a dislike of the chariot which became almost a prejudice, long afterwards reflected in their prophetic writings.¹ Even the multiplying of horses became forbidden by the Deuteronomic code.² In their earliest wars under Joshua they had actually lamed the horses and burned the captured chariots³; and later, in any case, their own position upon the highlands rendered it practically impossible for them to make use of either. The changed circumstances of David's reign, however, secured their long-delayed introduction.

A passage referring to David's victory over Hadad-ezer the king of Zobah⁴ discloses the fact that, though the captured chariot horses were mostly maimed in accordance with tradition, there were "reserved of them for an hundred chariots." In a later battle,⁵ the Syrians employed chariots and cavalry, and their crushing defeat by David suggests that the Israelites too had adopted this arm. Later in his reign, the riding chariot was introduced by Absalom,⁶ and was evidently becoming regarded as the newest emblem of royal state, for Adonijah also, when aspiring to the throne, is next stated⁷ to have prepared horses and chariots with 50 fore-runners, contrasting with the modest royal mule still used ceremonially by the aged king.⁸

¹ Isaiah ii, 7, xxxi, 1 Micah v, 10. Hosea xiv, ii, Psalms xx, 7.

² Deut. xvii, 16. This measure may have been drafted to check the tendencies of Solomon's reign. See p. 361.

³ Joshua xi, 9 ? D.

⁴ 2 Samuel viii, 4.

⁵ 2 Samuel x, 18.

⁶ 2 Samuel xv, 1.

⁷ 1 Kings i, 5.

⁸ 1 Kings i, 33, 38.

Solomon adopted the new arm at once. Cities occupying strategic positions, like Megiddo and Hazor, were reconditioned as centres for his chariotry,¹ and the remains of his extensive stables have actually been found in excavation.² This development called for a special branch of the military service,³ and led to a reorganization of the national defences: "He had a thousand and four hundred chariots and twelve thousand horsemen, which he bestowed in the chariot cities."⁴ The Hebrew chariots were manned, after the Hittite fashion, by parties of three; the driver, the warrior and the armourbearer: such a group was called the *Shalish*,⁵ or "three-men," and the formations were placed under the command of special officers.⁶

This innovation was as far reaching and advantageous for the maintenance of order and public security as the introduction of the aeroplane in modern times; and explains in large measure the peaceable conditions of Solomon's reign, notwithstanding the strength of external rivals and the growing internal discontent on account of his exactions and high labour levy. Profiting by his central position, Solomon carried on a very successful commerce in the buying and selling of horses and riding chariots, as between the Egyptians in the south, and the petty kings of Syria, including the remaining Hittite confederates in the north. The price of a chariot, six hundred shekels of silver, and that of a horse, a

¹ 1 Kings ix, 19; x, 26.

² See below, p. 377.

³ 1 Kings ix, 22; x, 26.

⁴ *Ibid.*, x, 16.

⁵ Cf. E. Meyer, *Reich und Cultur, d. Chetiter*, p. 13.

⁶ 1 Kings ix, 22.

hundred and fifty¹ (in round figures £75 and £20 respectively of modern money) suggest a surprisingly low standard of currency at the time, arising no doubt from the relatively large supplies of gold and silver.

It is noteworthy, in the matter of arms, that no reference is made yet to helmets and coats of mail, though the latter may have been known through contact with the Philistines. Such defensive armour appears to have been first provided for the army at a later stage by king Uzziah. The passing allusion in the records of Saul's reign,² must then be regarded as an anachronous insertion, especially as the wearing of such armour would be incompatible with all the references to his dress and arms.³

To this age also may be assigned with confidence the framing of the War Code preserved in the Book of Deuteronomy.⁴ Good arguments have recently been adduced by Dr. Welch, of Edinburgh, in favour of the view that all the legislation epitomized in chapters xii, 8 to xxvi, inclusive, of that Book was the product of the religious movement led by the earlier prophets from Samuel onwards.⁵ Others, interpreting differently the intrinsic evidence of the text, have argued for a date in the sixth century B.C.⁶ and others later still.⁷ Most scholars agree, however, that the work is a compilation from pre-existing

¹ 1 Kings x, 29.

² 1 Samuel xvii, 5.

³ Above, p. 290.

⁴ Chapter xx.

⁵ Welch, *The Code of Deuteronomy*; also, *The Framework of the Code*, pp. 17 ff.

⁶ *Vide* Kennett, *The Church in Israel*, pp. 85 ff; also Cook, in the same, xli f.

⁷ Battersby Harford, *Deuteronomy in the New Comm. on Holy Script.*, S.P.C.K., 1928, p. 148.

shorter collection of laws, which indeed visibly reduplicate the same subjects, including a number of very ancient usages and customs, side by side with later decisions and priestly regulations. Whatever element of doubt may prevail as to the date of this body of legislation as a whole, there can be little as regards the War-Code in chap. xx. In the first place it forms a detached fragment, without relation to what precedes or follows it; and in the second place its subject matter betokens close experience of imperial wars and the growth of the humane spirit which has been seen coming into being under Saul and David. No epoch but that of Solomon satisfies these and other indications of the text. The first verse illustrates our contention: "When thou goest forth to battle and seest horses and chariots . . . thou shalt not be afraid of them." In view of what has been said in the foregoing pages on this subject, it is clear that such a sentiment would not have been so penned afterwards, or even late in Solomon's reign.

The War-Code opens with an exhortation to have confidence in Yahweh. Next¹ officers are authorized, in fact enjoined, to grant exemption from military service under certain circumstances. These include (a) the building of a new house not yet dedicated²; (b) the planting of a new vineyard that has not borne fruit; (c) betrothal without the marriage

¹ In vv. 5-8.

² Cf. Sir G. A. Smith, *Camb. Bible*, note on *Deut.*, xx, 5, "To leave for war without fulfilling the dedicatory rites was regarded as fatal." So in Homer's *Iliad*, ii, 698, the first Greek killed is said to have left his house unfinished.

having been consummated ; (*d*) fear and faint-heartedness, in accordance with a precedent already established under Gideon.¹ In xx, 9 the officers, no doubt the high officers in command of the divisions are instructed to appoint captains of the host at the head of the people, a method which seems to reflect a transitional stage from the older tribal custom of inherited or elected leadership. Rules concerning the siege and capture of a city,² lay down (*a*) that the inhabitants shall first be offered peace, (*b*) that failing surrender, all the males of the city when captured shall be slain ; but that women and children shall be counted among the spoil, which, including the cattle and all inside the city, shall be at the disposal of the victors, without reservation of any portion for religious or other purposes. Certain supplementary principles on the same subject are laid down in some added clauses,³ the purport of which is fundamentally national. The rules last cited,⁴ are to apply only to distant cities ; no mercy is to be shown to the peoples of the land which “ Yahweh thy god giveth thee for an inheritance. Thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth, but shall utterly destroy them : The Hittite, and the Amorite, the Canaanite and the Perizzite, and Hivite and the Jebusite. . . .” Though such phraseology is usually regarded as characteristic of the early prophets, and commonly assigned to the sixth century B.C., it is quite clear from the political fusion of the country

¹ Judges vii, 3 E.

² Deut. xx, 10-14.

³ *Ibid.*, 15-18.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 10-14.

which has been traced, that the last clause can have had no real meaning after the age of Solomon, who in fact is said to have taken steps to assign these surviving racial elements a proper place within the social organization of the nation.¹ In the present writer's view these clauses, though inserted in the code, are derived from an earlier source, not later than the age of Samuel, and more probably the product of a school of prophets centred around Shiloh in the dark days at the end of the thirteenth century B.C., which gave birth to Deborah. The ethnographical indications are those of Canaan before the settlement of Israel and the coming of the Philistines.

The last clauses² revert to the spirit of the second group. In siege warfare, trees that bear fruit are not to be destroyed; only those that are not food-producing shall be cut down for the building of siege works. Rules follow practice: we have seen the beginnings of siege warfare in the age of David, and these clauses point, like all the others considered except vv. 15-18, to a date when the monarchy had been established with the successful issue of David's wars. After that era the menace to Israel was not due to the presence of native elements,³ but to the undying friction between North and South.

During this period it is noteworthy that, though Yahweh remained the sole resource and leader of Israel in battle, the Ark no longer accompanied the troops. Even when David fled from Jerusalem,

¹ 1 Kings ix, 20.

² Deut. xx, 19-20.

³ Cf. 1 Kings ix, 21.

before Absalom's rebellion, he is said to have sent the Ark back to Jerusalem. The probability that it no longer contained the original sacred stones of Horeb may have influenced this change, giving rise at the same time to a more spiritual conception of Yahweh's presence. The beginnings of this change are illustrated by a narrated episode,¹ the cogency of which is more apparent perhaps to us than to its author ; when David enquired of Yahweh whether he should attack the Philistines in the valley of Rephaim, the oracle answered : " When thou hearest the sound of marching in the tops of the mulberry trees, then thou shalt bestir thyself ; for then is the Lord (Yahweh) gone out before thee to smite the Philistines." In similar fashion the Ruala Bedouin watched in dead calm for signs of movement among the ostrich feathers which crowned their sacred war-palladium, the " Abu D'Hur,"² believing that Allah Himself was seated within and would in this way make known that His help was forthcoming. Likewise they held that should the enemy succeed in capturing the Palladium " Abu D'Hur," respect for it would be entirely lost, and they would not use it again. For Israel the loss of the original stones made room for higher thoughts, and the Ark became a symbol of the divine presence, more sacred perhaps than of old, but no longer to be carried to wars with the army to assure the presence and help of Yahweh on the field of battle.

With regard to the Law in general, it is a matter of surprise that no fresh Code can be attributed to

¹ 2 Samuel v, 24.

² Musil, *In the Arabian Desert* (Ed. Wright), p. 141 f., and fig. 17.

this age. The Laws formulated at the time of Israel's first contact with the inhabitants, embodied in the Book of Exodus,¹ were still in force, but they must have been supplemented under the monarchy by quite a number of fresh judgments bearing on matters not provided for in that document. These additions, after a period of oral use and modification, were doubtless written down separately at various times and gradually acquired the status of new laws based on custom, until finally incorporated in the revised Code as officially authorized by Josiah (c. 620 B.C.) and apparently preserved in the Book of Deuteronomy. But though the circumstances under which this Code was published are well appreciated, much misconception exists as to its origin and contents. Laws are older than Codes ; and the mere fact that the Code was apparently brought up to date and edited to meet the needs of Josiah's reformation does not argue that the laws, or even any substantial portion of them, were necessarily new. Much has been made, in past argument, of the essential principle generally thought to underlie this Code, namely the nationalization of worship, and the corollary, its centralization in Jerusalem. More recently, however, Prof. Welch² has been led by mature study to urge a different view, pointing out in a series of cogent arguments that the Code, with exception of the opening verses of chap. xii, makes in fact no reference to the centralization of worship and shows no evidence of having been submitted to the full and careful

¹ Welch : *Relig. of Israel under the Kingdom*, 207.

² Welch, Deut., *The Framework of the Code*, pp. 17-49.

revision in the interests of centralization, which many students find in it. The Code in that case would antedate 621 B.C. ; and as particular examples the clauses about the kingship¹ would have been formulated just after the breach between North and South at the end of Solomon's reign, while such a law as that of the first-fruits might safely be set down to the time of the "conquest."

This authoritative opinion bids us pause, and provides food for further thought. It is indeed obvious at first glance, that even if the theory of centralization in Jerusalem can be maintained, the very reforms contemplated give indication of an earlier group or accumulation of short laws regulating a decentral system. In any case it may now be admitted that the Code is a compilation of laws and groups of laws laid down at different times in different centres and by different authorities ; and that the laws about tithes, first-fruits, and sacrifices originally required that they should be offered only at a local sanctuary of Yahweh. But experience proved the difficulty of controlling the ritual and customs of these local shrines, and a certain school, composed both of priests and prophets, came to believe that purity of worship could only be secured by centralization. One or more of their number took the original laws and breathed into them the new ideals, expressing them in the new phraseology, and altering the clause which commanded attendance at local sanctuaries, so as to make attendance henceforth obligatory

¹ Deuteronomy xvii, 14-20. The allusion to Solomon is obvious in such passages as : " He shall not multiply horses,, wives, nor silver and gold. . . . " Cf. George Adam Smith, *Camb. Bibl., Deut.*, p. 224.

at the central shrine ; and the meaning was made clear by prefixing the first seven verses of chap. xii. Probably part of i-ii was the original preface to the new law book, and part was added later.¹

This modern common sense view displaces to-day the more complex tendency of previous investigators who did not admit the practicability of the new laws and were inclined to regard them as the work of priests in exile. Botanists who roam in forests, delighting in their detailed discoveries, may easily lose their way, which may, however, be quite plain to others who have not their special knowledge with its implied preoccupations. So those Biblical critics who pursue their own specialized study too closely to take account of the lessons of human experience, run the risk of arriving at unhistorical conclusions.

Since the evolution of the laws which constitute the Deuteronomic Code is still a question for expert treatment, it is not possible to adduce them in illustration of the political and social organization of a particular age, such as that of the monarchy. Some, like the War Code of chapter xx already considered, are evidently of an earlier origin, while others, like the clauses dealing with the kingship and the rights of the first-born,² seem to be directed specifically against the abuse of office and the break from democratic tradition with which Solomon himself may properly be charged. It is none the less helpful to single out those of its features which are themselves illustrated by actual episodes of the

¹ Battersby Harford in the *New Commentary on Holy Scripture*, p. 148.

² Deut. xxi, 15, 17.

age or by the permanent institutions of Palestinian society. To this aspect of the matter some extracts from Sir G. Adam Smith's Introduction to the Deuteronomic Code,¹ form an enlightening preface.

The ethics of the Code show advance on earlier laws, though still having much in common with those of other Semitic people. It sanctions the same system of tribal judges, and of appeal from them to the representative of God at the sanctuary,² as that existing among other Semitic peoples, nomad or settled ; but also impresses on the tribal judges the fact that their charge as much as that of the priest is the judgment of God. With all Semitic Law and practice it shares the same ideal of impartial justice, and in particular it follows the earlier code (J E), in forbidding bribes. . . . The *Lex Talionis* is maintained, as in the other Hebrew codes and in all Semitic jurisprudence : and the justice of the Semitic *vendetta* or blood-revenge is assumed ; it is necessary to the welfare of the society (xix, 13), with of course the rights of sanctuary which mitigate the vendetta, and are recognized in each of the Hebrew codes ; and as in other Semitic tribes, the guilty murderer is delivered to the kinsmen of the victim for execution (xix, 12). According to both the J E and E texts, no composition was permitted between the guilty man and the avengers of blood as is common among the Arabs to-day.³ The death sentence is pronounced, as throughout the Semitic world and elsewhere, upon the man-stealer (xxiv, 7) and the adulterer (xxii, 13 ff), but only in a limited number of Semitic

¹ Introd. *Deuteronomy, Camb. Bible*, p. 32 ff.

² Deut. i, 9-18 ; xvi, 18-20 ; xvii, 8-13.

³ Above, p. 201 f.

societies is it passed as in this Code, upon the obdurate rebel against authority (xvii, 12) and on the rebellious son (xxi, 18-21). Prisons are difficult to maintain in most Semitic communities, and in common with other primitive societies, communal responsibility is recognized for crimes, when the individual authors cannot be detected (xxi, 1-9).

Of the special laws mentioned in the foregoing precis, the *Lex Talionis* and the laws concerning blood-revenge have been already discussed, and cases of the latter category have been examined. The others embody new features which may have already become customary in the age of Solomon. The same may be said in general terms of the instructions to the Judges,¹ which embody precepts already accepted in the age of Samuel. In the organization of Justice, particularly as regards the status of the Judges in relation to the Crown, time had introduced modifications into the Code corresponding with the development of the kingship and constitution already outlined, while reflecting similar changes in the tribal system.²

¹ Exodus xxiii, 12 E., compared with Deuteronomy i, 16 ; xvi 18, 20.

² The position was thus explained by Driver, Introduction, *Crit. Com. on Deut.* xv, 18-20 :—

“ In a patriarchal society the natural guardians of justice are the men of judgment and experience in a tribe, the heads of families or elders. Thus in a modern Arab community the head man of the place, the village ‘ Kadi ’ assisted by two or three of the principal inhabitants, judges local cases ; but leave to appeal to a higher tribunal is granted when necessary (*cf.* Palgrave, *Arabia*, i, 228 f.). From Exodus xxi, 16 ; xiii, 8 (*cf.* 1 Samuel ii, 25), it may be inferred that in ancient Israel, judgment, especially in difficult or crucial cases, was regarded as a divine decision, and delivered at a sanctuary . . . seeking a decision at law called ‘ inquiring of God,’ civil decisions ‘ the statutes and laws of God ’ (Exodus xviii, 15, etc.). *Cf.* Homeric conception of *themistes* as

An important social implication of these laws is to be found in the elaborate treatment of the matter of slaves, both in the earlier and the later code.¹ The development of kingship brought with it inevitably an increasing element of class distinction, and laws to meet special cases would undoubtedly be called for, though not perhaps promulgated as early as the reign of Solomon. The old law, based on that of Hammurabi, already gave very full protection to the slave, while defining the rights of its owner; the new laws on the subject are marked by a more humanitarian spirit, and under some conditions the slave was allowed to enjoy certain civil rights not previously attainable. These changes, however,

judgments divinely dictated to a judge (II, i, 238), *cf.* Maine, *Anc. Law*, Chapter I). The body of Judges whose appointment to assist Moses is narrated in Exodus xviii do not, however, appear to have been a permanent institution: we hear later of Samuel and his son possessing local authority as judges (1 Samuel vii, 15, etc.): after the establishment of the monarchy, the king naturally became the supreme judicial authority, though probably only special cases were adjudicated by him in person (2 Samuel viii, 15, xiv, 4 f., xv 2 f. 1 Kings iii, 9, 16 vii, 7; Jeremiah xxii 15 f.: Isaiah xvi, 5; Jeremiah xxiii, 5b). It may be noted for historical comparison that (according to 2 Chronicles xix, 5-11) Jehoshaphat established a more highly organized judicial system, appointing judges in the cities of Judah, and instituting in Jerusalem a tribunal of Levites, priests, and heads of families, possessing supreme authority in both ecclesiastical and civil cases. In its broader features . . . this agrees remarkably with the system prescribed, or rather presupposed, in Deuteronomy xvii, 8-13. The details, however, of the judicial institutions of the Hebrews are unknown to us: it is thus uncertain, for instance, whether the 'judges' whose appointment is prescribed here, were independent deputies appointed by the king, or . . . presidents or assessors of the local council of 'elders,' qualified by their superior technical knowledge to direct, or assist, the latter. The two are mentioned as acting together in xxi, 2."

¹ Deuteronomy xv, 12, 18; xxiii, 15; Exodus xxi, 2-11 E.

cannot well be dated: probably they express a gradual development of feeling on the subject. One point, however, in this connexion, rests upon historical foundations. From the time of Solomon onwards a class of foreign slaves (Nethinim) was employed to do menial service in the temple at Jerusalem.¹ These temple slaves continued in service after the Deuteronomic reformation. They were prevailingly of foreign origin and not subject to release.²

One further law of special importance as bearing on the social organization of the day refers to the powers of parents in relation to their children,³ now greatly strengthened in proportion to the increased importance of the family unit,⁴ but with corresponding restrictions and social control. The old code provided the death penalty for an assault upon father or mother.⁵ The new law recognizes "the ethical solidarity" of the family, with the power of parents over their children even to the extent of putting them to death. But this power is made subject to examination and judgment by the "elders," and parents are spared from being the executioners of the sentence in such a case.⁶ Neither parent nor child could be put to death for the guilt of the other. The older law covering assault, thus seems to have been abrogated; the offence could be dealt with under parental powers without so extreme a penalty. Though there is no means of dating this

¹ Ezekiel xliv, 6 ff. Cf. Joshua ix, 27;

² Badè, *Old Testament in the Light of To-day*, p. 224.

³ Deuteronomy xxi, 19, 21.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 270.

⁵ Exodus xxi, 15. Cf. above, p. 194.

⁶ Cf. above, p. 199.

piece of legislation it may well have been developing in case-law from the time of Saul, in view of the social changes then at work.

Apart from the general inferences to be derived from the progressive modifications in the law, there is little fresh light upon the social conditions of the

**Taxes and
the labour
levy.**

country in the age of Solomon. The records of his reign are mostly concerned with his own ambitions, and chief among these was the building of a temple to replace the traditional Tent, and of the king's house, with its extensive appurtenances, including a judgment hall, in which the central feature was the royal throne¹; but certain conclusions can be drawn from the measures taken to achieve his purpose. These involved two chief social factors, heavy taxation and a heavier imposition of forced labour. The country had long suffered similar burdens: the Egyptian suzerains had always regarded Palestine as a source of revenue up to the limit of its resources, and after this yoke had been shaken off, the long struggle for freedom had called for very heavy human sacrifice. Through this period, as we have seen, the king shared the people's burdens, and there was promise of a brighter future under a democratic monarchy. Instead of emerging as a free people from the trials of the past, they suddenly found themselves reduced almost to the conditions of slavery, exploited by their king at the point of mercenary swords.

A reasonable estimate of the population of Palestine at this time arrives at the figure of 750,000

¹ See further below, p. 381.

people, including women and children,¹ a normal total for the country under foreign rule. Of these 750,000, we may suppose that 350,000 were males, and of these at the most 200,000 to have been able-bodied men. Yet an equally well-reasoned estimate reaches independently the conclusion that "the total of men employed for the twenty years during which Solomon's building operations were in progress must have been between 150,000 and 200,000 men,"² requiring for supervision no less than 3,300 overseers and gangsmen.³ On these bases of computation the whole man-power of Palestine was employed in public works of a non-economic character. It is true that under the terms of the levy, in the case of timber cutting in the Lebanon,⁴ the terms of service were one month's work in the mountains and two months at home, and possibly the arrangement was general. Even so, the burden was hardly bearable, and in any case spelt ruin. Even if it be thought that the estimates are in error, and we assume a population of a million people, with the monthly service of 100,000 men, the land must still have been deprived of the service of an eighth or more of its man power throughout the year.

It may be objected that Solomon is said in one passage to have raised his levy entirely out of the non-Israelite remnants of the older population,

¹ "Made up of 600,000 from the Davidic census, possible preserved in Numbers i and xxvi, with the addition of 200,000 from the Philistine plain and 50,000 from that of Acre, less 100,000 from Trans. Jordan." Albright, *The Adm. Divs. of Israel and Judah*, J.P.O.S. v, p. 24.

² Th. H. Robinson, *History of Israel*, i, p. 255.

³ 1 Kings iv, 8, 20.

⁴ *Ibid*, v, 13.

on the strength of the assurance that "of the children of Israel did Solomon make no bond servants"¹; but it is to be observed that the original population could not have supplied these numbers; and that the Israelites were subject to the levy and actually employed upon these works is categorically stated²: "King Solomon raised a levy out of all Israel, and he sent them to the Lebanon, ten thousand a month by courses." If the passage previously quoted has any meaning at all, and is not a later apologist's effort to clear Solomon's reputation, it seems to imply that the Israelites were subject to the levy, but retained their civil status as free men, while the aboriginal inhabitants temporarily became slaves. This explanation seems to be supplemented in a measure by the modification in the law already instanced as ameliorating the lot of slaves. However that may be, it is evident that the country, deprived of so large a proportion of its man power, could not attain its full productive capacity; and that the lot of the people under such conditions was no better than of old. The fabulous wealth attained by Solomon was not devoted to their benefit; on the contrary, they were called upon to pay a heavy tax in kind, ostensibly for the purpose of maintaining the royal household and retainers, which must have been considerable and doubtless increased in numbers all the time, but apparently also for replenishing the king's purse and exchequer. The tax was collected in rotation from each of the provincial districts, and paid by daily instalments which con-

¹ Kings ix, 21-22.

² *Ibid.*, v, 13, and *cf.* xi, 28.

sisted not only of foodstuffs, such as flour and meal, sheep, gazelles, and fowl,¹ as well as barley and straw for the horses, but also a fixed number of animals that might be used for barter and commerce, including 10 fat oxen, 20 bullocks and a number of riding horses, separately assessed. If these figures are correct the tithe collected in this way alone amounted to 3,650 fat oxen yearly, and twice that number from the pastures, in all 10,000 beasts, as well as an undetermined number of riding horses which were the staple basis of his commerce. We are not told how the large army of workpeople employed upon the temple and other buildings was victualled in Jerusalem when once the materials had been assembled, but the provision of flour raised by the tithe was sufficient for this purpose, being estimated to give 28,000 lbs. of baked bread, food enough for 15,000 persons daily. In the provinces where also Solomon's building mania extended, at Hazor, Megiddo, Gezer and Bethhoron, and also beyond Jordan, doubtless the workmen would be maintained at the expense of the local population, under the guise of hospitality, all in addition to the direct taxation.

The local resources were all insufficient to realize Solomon's golden dreams of oriental splendour. His indebtedness to the king of Tyre alone for the supply of timber and artisans must have been enormous, and involved him in an annual payment in kind of no less than 20,000 measures of wheat (150,000 sacks)² as well as a larger supply of oil, in addition to maintaining his vast array of workmen

¹ 1 Kings iv, 22, 23.

² *Ibid.*, v, 11.

in the mountains. His sources of revenue to meet this expenditure were threefold: firstly, the exaction of tolls¹ from caravans passing through his country, of which he commanded all the trade routes; secondly, his own commerce by land, which included horses and chariots² and possibly fat stock as above mentioned; but thirdly, and chiefly, a new venture which his relations with the king of Tyre enabled him to join as partner, namely, the sea-borne trade with Ophir and the Arabian coasts.

This was an old-established enterprise. Centuries before, as we learn from the Ras Shamra tablets, the Phoenician kings of Tyre and Sidon had secured an outlet towards the East, for their exports of wood and copper, in exchange for which they received gold from Ophir and perfumes from Arabia. Their other exports, such as slaves and horses, unsuitable for this market, would be sent by land to Egypt in return for local products. But in their maritime enterprises they had established a trade route by the Gulf of Akabah, which they reached by way of Ashdod and the southern desert, where one of their most famous kings, Keret, gave his name to a region known in their traditions as the Negeb-ha-Keret, the same which in turn supplied David and Solomon with the Cherethite element of the royal bodyguard. This route had long been known to them, for their tablets of the 14th century B.C. are but copies of earlier records; and it seems plausible that it had been opened by themselves at the time of their traditional migration from the Persian Gulf to the Syrian sea-board.

¹ 1 Kings x, 15.

² *Ibid.*, x, 29.

Biblical tradition, also, which tells how the dominion of the Canaanites extended from Sidon as far as Gaza, clearly refers to the Phœnician or coastal element of the Canaanitish people, which was bound to the central power at Hazor, not only by political necessity and common fortune, but by the more enduring bond of kindred, race, and language. To this extent, then, all the strains of tradition are in agreement, and it may be presumed that if the Phœnicians of Tyre and Sidon continued to pass by way of the Gulf of Akabah, rather than the Isthmus of Suez, it was precisely because they had an established right of way, which had also the great advantage of avoiding the political frontier of Egypt. The extension of the Pharaohs' influence during their period of Empire over Syria must have modified and interrupted the arrangement; indeed, the commercial expeditions of Queen Hatshepsut to the land of Punt may actually have been founded on those of her Syrian vassals. But during the fourteenth century B.C., when the tablets were written or copied, Egyptian influence waned, and commerce doubtless resumed its old-established lines, which may well have been maintained by arrangement with the Philistines until the time of David. The statement, repeated as if for emphasis, that David established garrisons throughout all Edom,¹ now assumes a fresh significance: it may well have resulted from an agreement with the king of Tyre, who is said to have furnished David also with wood and carpenters to build a royal house. Solomon would thus inherit the controlling influence in a prosperous

¹ 2 Samuel viii, 14.

and old-established business, in that he held the key to its main outlet. One of his first steps was to enter into league with Hiram¹; then to build his own ships, which were manned by Hiram's experienced seamen,² who sailed to Ophir, and fetched the gold thence, 420 talents, and brought it to King Solomon. Nothing is said as to any share in the venture being apportioned to Hiram, but as the latter was able to advance Solomon a further 120 talents of gold,³ he presumably received an agreed portion. The expeditions seem to have taken three years, and certainly went as far as India⁴ if not to Australasia, as well as to the coasts of Somaliland for gold. The allusion to joint expeditions with Hiram and "a navy of Tarshish"⁵ is confused with the foregoing, and rather suggests also a coasting trade within the Mediterranean, though the importation of ivory, apes, and peacocks, if correctly read, can only refer to the Indian trade. Another source of revenue was opened up with the Queen of Sheba (presumably Saba, or Sabaea in South West Arabia), who bought produce of all kinds for which she paid a further 120,000 shekels.

The total from these three sources of Solomon's revenue in gold for one year is thus put at the fabulous sum of 660 talents,⁵ which on the accepted basis of calculation with the talent equal to 3,000 shekels, or about £6,000 of modern money value, would amount to not less than £4,000,000 worth of

¹ 1 Kings v, 12.

² *Ibid.*, ix, 27.

³ *Ibid.*, ix, 14.

⁴ *Ibid.*, x, 22.

⁵ *Ibid.*, x, 14.

gold. Since the talent weighed more than 100 lb., the weight of gold alone would be more than thirty tons, and it is difficult to believe that two-thirds of this could be imported, together with more bulky produce, on the bottoms of the period.

Whatever the value of the gold imported, it was not enough to pay the bill of Solomon's vainglorious extravagances, and he was constrained to make over to Hiram a part of the nation's capital, in other words a portion of his kingdom, comprising 20 cities in the tribal area of Asher, which had early shown a leaning towards their maritime neighbours,¹ and were now finally alienated from their nominal associations with the tribes of Israel.

The list of luxury objects with which Solomon adorned the royal buildings explains in some measure the motive for his enormous outlay. It comprised :²

- (a) 200 targets of beaten gold at 600 shekels each.
- (b) 300 shields of beaten gold of 300 shekels each.
- (c) A throne of ivory overlaid with gold, having six steps each supporting a lion on either side.
- (d) A set of drinking vessels of gold for the palace.
- (e) A set of vessels of pure gold for the "Lebanon House."

"None were of silver : it was nothing accounted of in the days of Solomon." These objects are but a small fraction compared with those which enriched the temple, for which there was some show of reason. But the fact remains that with the exception of bronze-smelting and moulding, undertaken in the valley of the Jordan, between Succoth and Zarethan,³

¹ Above, pp. 253 ; 331, n.

² 1 Kings x, 16.

³ *Ibid.*, vii 46.

all such objects were manufactured by foreign workmen of foreign materials without regard to an economic policy; indeed, the country must have been impoverished. In the case of the bronze works which were created, however, there was incidentally an economic balance, for the copper ores, with the exception of some furnished also by Hiram, seem to have been mined within the kingdom. Three ancient sources in southern Transjordan are known, though all are now neglected, at Fenan, El Nahas, and El Meniyeh, near Ezion-Geber¹; and to these may be added the old workings of Sinai, which for centuries already had been exploited by the Egyptians. The possession of these mines was of vital importance to Israel, if only to make good the backwardness of their armour and equipment, a fact which explains the measures taken by David to secure the districts in which they were located, and the sudden transformation of the flint-using mountaineers into a generation of formidable soldiers. But apart from these shallow workings, there is no trace in the records of the development of any economic industry: indeed, the resources of the country were very limited. The soil, in parts, is good, but it demands an excess of labour owing to the continual outcropping of stone: and the manpower which might have met this need had been withdrawn for unproductive work. While the rich enriched themselves and adorned their dwellings, the poor became poorer, and the social conditions show no improvement as compared with the period of the earlier kings.

¹ Cf. Phythian-Adams, *Call of Israel*, Appx. I, pp. 187, 189, and p. 133.

Architecture, by which should be understood building in cut stone, with suitable timber for roofs and pillars, was the one big industrial **Architecture.** activity which may be said to have been developed to the ultimate benefit of the people, though for the time being to their cost. Solomon's building operations in Jerusalem were not confined to the Temple and Royal Residence, but included a house for his royal Egyptian wife, whose influence may be traced on every side, a hall of Justice with a throne for the king, a hall of "pillars," and another sumptuous state building known as the House of Lebanon, possibly the "Selamlik" or Ceremonial Reception Hall. Though in general the architecture was of a simple order, in which a great hall roofed with planks of cedar supported on columns of the same, formed the central feature, the grouped effect must have been massive and impressive, especially when compared with the small hovels of mud-brick on rough stone foundation with which the population had hitherto been content. It is true that the earlier residences of some of the Canaanite and Hyksos chieftains had illustrated a certain ambition in the direction of size and solidarity, which extended to the elements of comfort seen in various details from the well-filled store-rooms to the elaborate system of subterranean drains. But all further development in technique had been restrained for lack of suitable materials and technical skill. The principal building in Gibeah of Saul, located at Tell el Ful and excavated of recent years,¹ with its massive walls of rude stone and its deep foundations,

¹ Albright, *Annual Am. Sch. Or. Res.* iv, 1924, 1 ff. with plan.

resembles by comparison with Solomon's buildings a blockhouse with dungeons rather than a royal residence.

The cutting of stone by means of the saw, the squaring and firing of bricks, and above all the provision of straight and relatively long timbers which could also be cut into planks, gave an entirely new character to these buildings, and could not fail to leave a permanent effect upon the architecture of the capital and throughout the country.¹ Solomon's initiation of public works was not by any means confined to Jerusalem, but extended widely, from Beth Horon and Gezer as far as Megiddo and Hazor, in addition to numerous other places not specified,² even beyond Jordan.³ Though the records of these activities are mostly concerned with fortifications and stabling, they doubtless included numerous official houses and local features, all of which spread a knowledge of the new technique, and marked in that respect the beginnings of a new architectural era. Some of these works have actually been uncovered in modern times. At Megiddo,⁴ near the governor's house of the period, were found the stables, "carefully planned to meet the requirements of each chariot unit. Double doors, hung on small stone sockets, gave access from the street to a passage with fine lime-plaster pavement, and from this to a row of stalls paved with rough stone to keep the hoofs

¹ On the whole question, see Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'Exploration Récente*, 1911, p. 38 ff. Cf. further, Starkey, *Tell Duweir*, in P.E.F. Q.S., 1933, p. 192 f., with Plates III-V.

² 1 Kings ix, 19. See above, p. 354.

³ *Ibid.*, ix, 15.

⁴ Excavations of the Rockefeller expedition, conducted by Mr. P. L. O. Guy.

from slipping. The roofs were upheld by pillars set on large stones to equalize the downward thrust and with holes in the corners to halter the horses, while between each pair of hitching pillars was a stone manger. The largest stable consisted of five units with space for twenty-four horses each, while smaller stables brought the number of horses which could be accommodated in Megiddo up to three hundred."¹

At Hazor, in the course of a limited and almost superficial exploration,² there came to light a row of stone pillars, some with tethering holes, indicating that there also, as the Biblical narrative suggests,³ Solomon's agents established a big chariot depôt in the former political and strategic centre of the North : and the discovery of a mass of masonry, in which the bricks were burnt and marked with masons' signs after the fashion of the period, gave further indication of a general reconstruction of the ancient ramparts of the acropolis.

The new style of building, in which rows of standing stones or monolithic columns reflect the columned porches of Solomon's Phœnician models, seems undoubtedly to have been widely adopted in Palestine, replacing the buildings with an open courtyard of an earlier age such as are found at Tell el Hesi (Ekron), Gezer, Ta'anach and other places. Archæological investigations do not yet seem to have determined whether the change was more or less immediate and the direct result of Solomon's initiative, or whether

**Building
technique.**

¹ Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, p. 345.

² *Joshua: Judges*, p. 381.

³ 1 Kings ix, 15-19.

it was the sequel to a more general process of Phœnician penetration. In any case, both at Gezer and at Tell el Hesy (in Cities V–VI) the change came about so soon afterwards as to leave no doubt as to the reality of the Phœnician influence. At the former place, however, though the stratum of Solomon's age was recognized, there was a conspicuous absence of any public buildings of the period, with the possible exception of a judgment hall, and this was attributed by the excavator¹ to the fact that the city could no longer claim an independent administration.²

The restoration of Jerusalem's city walls,³ followed by the refortification of Gezer, Megiddo and other commanding centres, seems also to have heralded a real revival in military art and architecture; for the ramparts of several other strong places were reconstructed on the old solid lines and on an even greater scale, in succeeding generations. Notable examples are found at Mizpah (Tell el Nasbeh) where the refortification is now attributed by the excavator⁴ to the reign of Asa; and at Samaria where the whole of the original construction proved to date,⁵ as stated in the Bible, from the time of Ahab and Omri. With these developments we are not immediately concerned: it is sufficient to realize that the revival of civil and military architecture seems to date from

¹ Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer*, i, 22.

² Above, p. 339.

³ 1 Kings ix, 15. It is thought that the repairs effected can be recognized: Macalister and Duncan, *Excavations on the Hill of Ophel*, Palestine Exploration Fund (1923–5), 56, 83 f.

⁴ Dr. Badè, Director of the Pacific School of Religion, who has communicated this information.

⁵ Reisner and Fisher, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria*, 1908–10, p. 121 f.

the reign and activities of Solomon. It was accompanied by a better building technique, particularly evident in the improved dressing of the stone, ashlar replacing the older hammer dressed blocks, with a correspondingly truer alignment of the courses. Where the face of the stone was left rough or bossed, the margin was carefully squared. At Gezer rare examples of ornamental stone dressing were observed in the Solomonic tower of the outer wall. At Megiddo the coursing was actually indicated by red lines, painted doubtless along a stretched string with the end stones *in situ*, and in the construction two headers in one course alternated with one stretcher in the next.

A special feature of ancient construction in Palestine was the use of wood at intervals between the courses. In the brick ramparts of Jericho thin layers of charred cane are traceable at various points; and cases have been noticed elsewhere, and have been compared with similar features in Hittite handiwork in Northern Syria.¹ Timber used in this way would serve both as a transverse bond and as a cushion against the vibration of earthquake.² Whatever the explanation, the method seems to have had a technical purpose and was developed by the Phœnician architects. In one example noted at Megiddo the timber evidently served as a wall plate; over three courses of dressed stone lay a cedar beam, above which the building was carried up in mud brick.³ These observations help to explain a similar

¹ Vincent, *Canaan*, pp. 37-9, with fig. 14: Koldewey, *Ausgrab. Sendscherli II*, pp. 104-116.

² See also p. 110.

³ Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, p. 345.

feature described in the record of the construction of Solomon's temple.¹

The temple was neither the central nor most imposing of the several buildings with which Solomon adorned the capital. It occupied, nevertheless, the highest piece of ground lying to the immediate north of the old Jebusite city, in the area which was gradually enclosed and developed as the site of the royal palace and its associated buildings. In the matured plan, the temple itself is seen to have had a separate entrance from the east, but it could also be approached by way of the royal enclosure from the south. Here, opposite the principal entrance, with direct access from the city, stood the "house of Lebanon," a building 170 ft. long, 86 ft. wide, and 50 ft. high, having its roof supported on forty-five columns in three rows; these were made of cedar logs and the building was roofed with cedar from the Lebanon. The description of the building leaves some doubt as to whether it was of the nature of a portico, open at one side, as would be appropriate to its position, or an enclosed hall. In any case one wall at least had three rows of windows arranged one over the other, and it also had doors which, like the posts, were "square in prospect." On the walls, arranged like trophies, were 300 targets or bucklers, and 300 shields, all of beaten gold. Beyond the house of Lebanon rose a "porch of pillars," 85 ft. wide by 50 ft. deep, presumably of much the same height

¹ 1 Kings vii, 10-11. A similar method of construction seems to have been employed on Syro-Hittite sites, notably Sinjerli and Sakje-Geuzi, and also in the earlier palaces of the Hittite capital in Asia Minor. *Hittite Empire*, p. 91.

as before, serving as a portico to the porch of judgment ; in the latter was the royal throne, embellished with ivory and gold. There were six steps to the throne, and upon each step, one on either side, stood lions, as also beside the stays on the dais where stood the throne.¹ The back was further ornamented with the significant emblem of the bull's head.

The three buildings described, namely the House of Lebanon, the Porch of Pillars and the Porch of Judgment, constituted a group, and were presumably accessible to the privileged public and courtiers. An enclosing wall separated off the next group, which was the most luxurious and costly : it comprised Solomon's own house, which took thirteen years to build,² his women's quarters, and a separate house with a portico, similar to those described, for his Egyptian wife, who clearly had a special status and exercised great influence upon the king and court. A private door led from these buildings to the temple enclosure, which, as already mentioned, had also its public entrance from the east. Though the temple took seven years to build, it was only 90 ft. long and 30 ft. wide, and some 30 ft. in height, about half the size of the "house of Lebanon." To these dimensions should be added the porch, about 30 by 15 ft. The general plan recalls some features of Egyptian temples ; an open court, a columned hall with mysterious half light, and beyond these a small chamber almost dark, the abode of the God.

The building was constructed of sawn blocks of stone, and was entirely lined with cedar, ornamented

¹ 1 Kings x, 19.

² *Ibid.*, vii, 1.

with designs of cherubim (winged figures), palm trees, and open flowers. In the sanctuary
Cult objects and emblems. a place of solid stone, lined with cedar and surmounted by carved cherubim, was made ready to receive the Ark.

The temple faced towards the east, so that, as with several well-known Egyptian shrines, the rising sun in the spring and autumn would send its rays through the building as far as the Holy of Holies; and the solar element in the Cult is possibly represented by the two columns, Jachin and Boaz, which stood by themselves on either side of the entrance. These were each cast in a single piece of bronze, 30 ft. in height; but, unlike the solar obelisk of Egypt, they were surmounted by ornamental capitals. Another significant object, a brazen serpent, found a place within the temple. The most original feature of the temple furniture was known as the Brazen Sea, a triumph of bronze working, in the design of which a large basin 18 ft. across was supported upon twelve oxen, while lions and cherubim also figured in its decorative details. The altar itself, being designed for sacrifice of animals on a large scale,¹ seems to have been the natural outcrop of rock now covered by the historic Dome, and venerated through all time by the several religions that have possessed the site.

The temple decorations reflect the tendencies in the religious symbolism of the age; parallels with certain features may be found in Egypt as well as in the Hittite centres of northern Syria, where lion, bull, and "cherub," were also popular. It is difficult to say, however, under the circumstances of its con-

¹ Cf. 1 Kings viii, 64.

struction, to what extent this symbolism represented local conceptions in the Cult of Yahweh. The change from Tent to Temple was already great enough to obscure the full significance of such artistic details. With the completion of this building Israel's settlement was accomplished.

The royal and official nature of this group of buildings should not be forgotten, and it is recalled in the names attached to the various entrances, among which may be noted the "king's entry from without," the "king's gate eastward," and in particular the "gate of the guard." From a later passage in the Bible we learn that the spears and armour of the royal guard were kept within these precincts.

Though we may hesitate to accept in detail the accounts of Solomon's building activities as the contemporary record of eye witnesses, yet there is no doubt that he introduced some quite new seeds of culture into Palestine, even though most of them did not begin to grow at once. The organization of the temple ceremonial, in particular, probably involved an entirely new conception of worship and in this respect the close relation established by Solomon's marriage and by his active trade with Egypt, makes it probable that many ideas would be borrowed from the old-established practices of that country. In this connexion music and musical instruments would undoubtedly gain importance, especially in the ritual of the temple, whereas in the time of Saul we hear of music only for use at feasts and in processions. The ardent faith of David in Yahweh his God certainly seems to have found expression in songs with

Music.

instrumental accompaniments. When he, with all Israel, had gone forth to bring in the neglected Ark to the newly conquered Jerusalem, they played before God with all manner of instruments made of fir wood, including harps, psalteries, timbrels, castanets and cymbals.¹ On that occasion they brought the Ark as far as the house of Obed Edom. But when David had prepared a Tent for the Ark, later tradition² holds that he made arrangements for the appointment of singers, with instruments of music, and for masters to prepare the processional music beforehand; so that they now brought up the Ark with singing, and with the sound of the cornet and trumpets, cymbals sounding aloud with psalteries, and with harps. Thus was Yahweh enshrined in Jerusalem where, a thousand years before, the patriarch Abraham had paid tribute, and had been blessed by Melchizedek, the priest of El Elyon, the Most High God of his day.³

Among the wind instruments mentioned, the loud trumpet or cornet, called the *Shophar*, was probably like that used by Gideon and other leaders to summon their tribesmen to war; it was made of a bull's horn, and examples can still be seen in Palestine. The *Khalil* was a reed flute probably somewhat similar in effect to the modern oboe. The psaltery, or *Nebel*, and harp, or *Kinnor*, were not like the modern harp or the cumbrous type of stringed instruments, but were easily carried and used almost exclusively to accompany songs of a joyous character.⁴

¹ 2 Samuel vi, 5.

² 1 Chronicles xv, 16-28.

³ Above, p. 119.

⁴ 2 Chronicles v, 12.

The psaltery, or *Nebel*, has sometimes been identified with the lute, but Josephus describes it as twelve-stringed, and played with the fingers without a plectrum; on Egyptian monuments portable harps are shown with a sound box above and triangular in shape, as carried by Semitic people in Assyria. It seems, however, to have had a Syrian origin developing from 3, 4 or 7 strings to fine instruments of 11 to 20 strings. The harp proper, or *Kinnor*, was of the nature of a lyre with a soundbox at the base connected by strings with wooden arms and a crossbar. It developed in pre-historic times both in Babylonia and Egypt, Josephus describing it as a ten-stringed instrument struck by a plectrum, but 8 or 9 strings are seen in the types held by Syrian immigrants into Egypt, as painted on the tomb walls of Beni Hassan during the twelfth dynasty. Cymbals were of two varieties: two flat plates to be clashed together sideways, and two cones with handles at the apex of which the upper was to be clashed upon the lower. Both patterns have been found in Egypt and Assyria.

David's instrumental music and vocal arrangements would doubtless be further elaborated at the dedication of Solomon's temple, and later are said to have been restored to choral worship both by Hezekiah and Josiah.¹ It is difficult to decide, however, how much of the record in the Book of Chronicles is based on real tradition. There it is said that when Solomon and all the congregation of Israel were assembled before the Ark, and the singers and musicians, arrayed in fine linen, were

¹ 2 Chronicles xxix, 25; and xxxv, 15.

standing at the east end of the Altar, it came to pass that the trumpeter and singers were as one, and that they lifted up their voices with the trumpets and cymbals and instruments of music, and praised the Lord, saying "For He is good, for His mercy endureth for ever." Certainly such ceremonial music would not seem more elaborate than the ritual of contemporary Egyptian worship, to which Solomon's queen must have been accustomed.

Stringed instruments were most commonly used in the temple services, and throughout Solomon's reign they were made from the imported *almug* trees, probably another word for sandalwood, and gut was used for the strings instead of the earlier twisted grass or vegetable fibre. Later, silk and metal strings were introduced. Among the percussion instruments, in addition to the cymbals mentioned in David's ritual procession, there appeared the tabret or timbrel, known as the *Toph*. This was a small hand drum capable of only one note when struck, as the parchment was rigidly fixed and so could not be regulated to alter the pitch. The Sistra, or castanets, called the *Menaaneim*, consisted of two thin metal plates with holes, through which passed rods bearing loose metal rings at their ends. The *Shalishim* was probably of somewhat similar design, but the word has been sometimes translated triangle, or regarded as connoting a three-stringed instrument, because of the similarity existing between its name and the third numeral. Three-stringed lutes or guitars were certainly common in the home life of Egyptians, Assyrians, and Hittites.

The small hand drum may be seen on Egyptian and Syrian monuments, and Dr. Sir John Stainer

(in *Music of the Bible*) considers that the *Machol* may have been a small pipe specially used for dancing, so that the *Toph* and *Machol* would be represented by the Scottish Tabor and Pipe. Unfortunately, nothing has survived of these and other objects associated with the temple or Solomon's other buildings; nor is there any direct clue as to their design and appearance. The Egyptians were wont to adorn their funerary chapels with designs, and to place models of many art products in their tombs, but the Palestinians were relatively poor, and their cultural development is illustrated chiefly by inexpensive objects, mostly in fact pottery, which in nearly all societies most surely reflects the fashions and trade relations of its time and place.

Under stable political conditions, it can hardly be doubted that Solomon's efforts to adorn Jerusalem, and his extended commercial relations, would have proved the origin and stimulus of a great cultural expansion. But it was not to be. His own policy of selfish aggrandisement, coupled with his total disregard for the democratic principles upon which the nation had come into being, itself prepared a pretext for the intervention of the still mighty Pharaoh. During the political disturbance that ensued upon Solomon's death, the Egyptians lost no time before carrying off the vaunted treasure, including the ornaments and vessels of bronze and gold, to enrich the temples of the Theban gods, a tragic sequel to Solomon's vainglorious reign. Solomon's efforts, moreover, had been too concentrated and too short-lived to become assimilated, and so furnish *motifs* for other branches of art throughout the country. So that, incredible though it may seem,

in the lack of actual excavations on the temple area, there has survived no material trace of Solomon's mushroom splendour, not a pottery vase or other art product in which can be seen the influence of Hiram's craftsmanship.¹ All the preceding historical epochs are represented by distinctive specimens, and we reproduce drawings of some types (facing the next page) in illustration of this point.

In the Canaanite pottery of the patriarchal period c. 2000 B.C., the predominant influence, in conformity with the political conditions of the age, was Babylonian, as seen in various details already described.² Next, the Hyksos period is represented by improved technique and new forms, among which the most characteristic is the carinated or angular outline based on metallic models. Later, the period of effective Egyptian occupation (from 1500 B.C. onwards) introduces painted fabrics and a wide range of imported wares, among which those of Cyprus³ and the Ægean⁴ represent the range of Egyptian relations during her period of Empire. In due time the coming of the Philistines with the Iron Age, soon after 1200 B.C., introduces a different series, distinguished by new shapes and especially new decorative motifs. Age by age, as these importations became disseminated throughout the country they were seized as models by the local potters, and became the basis of new styles and fashions in the

¹ 1 Kings vii, 13 ff. Reading Hiram for Hiram, as the name of the famous craftsman, *cf.* Olmstead, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

² Above, pp. 131-3.

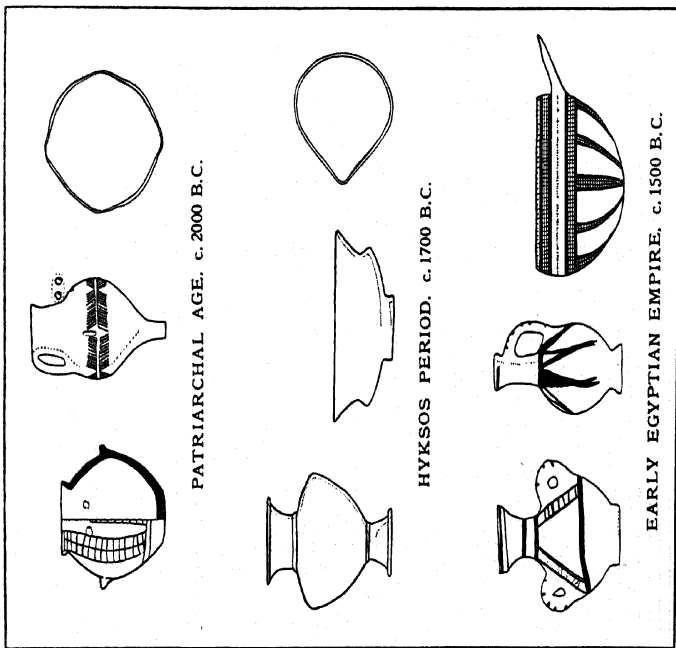
³ Strictly Cypro-Phœnician.

⁴ Especially Mycenæan.

ceramic art. But the pottery of Solomon's age,¹ so far as it can be distinguished, bears no trace of special stimulus. On the other hand, deprived of the Philistine influence, it tended to become for the time being lifeless and utilitarian, better made, perhaps, than of old, but lacking freshness of *motif*, and not responding visibly in the country at large to Solomon's wide personal relations. In this case, again, pottery tells its tale quite plainly and with candour.

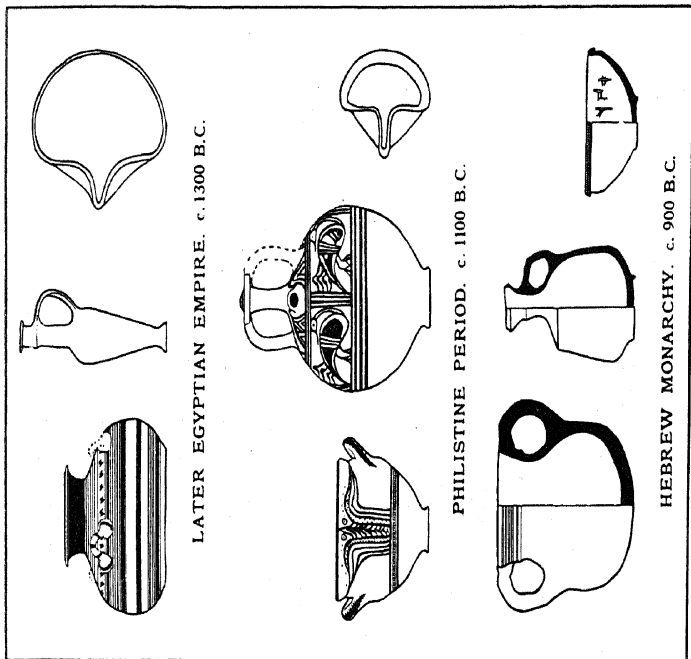
It is hardly possible for anyone who has followed with sympathy the record of Israel's development from Moses to David, to close this chapter without a feeling of regret for what "might have been." Solomon's reign, which might have marked the culmination of unique achievement, proves but an anti-climax. His fabulous riches were not really wealth; they were not shared with his people in economic enterprise, but wasted in unproductive expenditure to further his personal ambitions. The earlier monarchs had shared the burdens and fortunes of the people, and the monarchy itself had emerged with them out of nomadic conditions, wherein democratic customs had shaped the laws. But Solomon was born amid peace and plenty, and was still young and inexperienced when bereft of his father's wise counsel. Left then to the care of a scheming and ambitious mother, surrounded by court intrigue and flattery, and with a growing love of pomp no doubt encouraged by his Egyptian queen, it is not very surprising that Solomon became selfish, and lapsed into despotism, while Israel's democratic leaders fled severally to Egypt and Damascus to await the

¹ Technically the end of Early Iron Age 1.



CHANGING FASHIONS IN THE POTTERY VESSELS OF SUCCESSIVE EPOCHS

Note the evolution of the Lamp (Rt.) between 2000 and 1100 B.C.



inevitable crisis. The heritage of Solomon thus proved too great for his personality. It is noteworthy that the subsequent revolution which separated the North from the South was accompanied by a reaction of the former, i.e., the Israelites proper, towards the ancient form of worship. At the shrines of Bethel and Dan, which defined the two extremities of their territory, they associated with the national cult the image of a young Bull, the emblem of the old solar storm-god, El, Hadad or Teshub. Though only a form, for they professed the worship of Yahweh, the erection of these idols was significant. Not only did it mark a retrogression from the development of monotheism, which had made progress under David, but it gave proof that the material rather than the ethical side of their religion appealed as yet more fully to the northern tribes at least.

The numerous shrines to strange gods erected by Solomon in Jerusalem for his foreign wives, had no doubt contributed to this falling away from the stricter religious practices of Judah and the South. Perhaps, however, this act of toleration opened thinking minds to a broader conception of a Godhead that should comprehend all gods. In any case, even though progress in the Idea of God was temporarily checked by the disruption of the nation, immense progress had been already achieved, and this aspect of Israel's social history claims before all else a few words of retrospect.

Long before the time of Moses, the elementary conceptions of the Sun and Moon, and Venus, as objects of worship, which had originally prevailed throughout Southern Arabia, and thence permeated

the Semitic world,¹ had already given place to mere symbolical associations, so that though the settled agriculturalists of Canaan worshipped El with solar rites, while the nomadic shepherds still observed the lunar festivals, there probably remained in their minds no conscious worship of the Sun and Moon themselves. The cult of Venus became earlier submerged, but was none the less deep-rooted. In Babylonia it was perpetuated, symbolically at any rate, in the worship of Ishtar, who was recognized among her other attributes as Goddess of War, like the Sun Goddess of Arinna (the later Ma-Bellona)² among the Hittite peoples. In Canaan, as already indicated,³ the cult of this goddess, named in Phœnicia "Astart," the Ashtoreth of the Bible, had become largely merged with that of El-Baal in a nature cult as practised also by the Hittites. In view of the syncretistic tendency of the age, we may suspect that the attribution of the title, "Man of War," and similar martial allusions to Israel's God, after their escape from Egypt,⁴ reflect the final submergence of this goddess in the growing conception of Yahweh. In any case, the next and crucial stage in this development is seen plainly, when Yahweh-Elohim emerged with Israel from Horeb as a God brooking no rival, in whom the virtues and powers of El and his consort, not to speak of the lesser divinities, had been absorbed. From that time, though other tribes and peoples had their own gods, who were respected,

**Religious
beliefs and
practices.**

¹ Cf. Langdon, *Semitic Mythology*, p. 3 f.

² Cf. *Hittite Empire*, p. 195.

³ Above, p. 123.

⁴ Exodus xv, 3, J.

Yahweh became the One and Only God for Israel. But for centuries, it would appear, the emblems of the primeval sky-gods, the Sun, the Moon, and the planet Venus, were still found recurring in the symbolism and ritual of the Cult.¹

The special contribution of Moses was ethical, the association of moral precepts with the worship of the God, and the framing thereon of rules for daily life. This step was tremendous ; and it separated the religion of the Israelites from that of all their neighbours. It is true that Yahweh still shared the fortunes of the growing nation, and there were numerous instances of backsliding and actual apostasy ; but by the time of Eli and Samuel religious thought was so far advanced that the loss of the Sacred Stones from within the Ark² proved by no means fatal to the Cult as a national religion, as might easily have been the case at an earlier stage. The absence of the stones seems actually to have furthered the conception of a spiritual rather than a material Presence, and so marked another stage in the progress of the ethical development. Finally, as we have seen, the welding of the nation under David, and his religious attitude towards life, seemed to herald the spiritual realization of an Almighty God who was merciful and just. The bitter set-back of Solomon's reign, and the ultimate destruction of the Temple, may then not have been altogether in vain, contributing towards an ultimate conception of

¹ Cf. The Host of Heaven : 2 Kings xvii, 16 ; xxi, 5 ; xxiii, 5 ; Deuteronomy iv, 19, etc.

² Above, p. 284, 359.

God freed from all mundane considerations, such as finally emerged during the Exile.

It seems strange to us of the modern western world, familiar with the accomplished fact, to realize how the evolution of the religious ideal of all men was interlocked with the fortunes of one small people. It is true that it fell to their lot to inhabit Palestine, the natural meeting place of the great nations and great ideas, at a time when syncretism and unification expressed the prevailing tendencies of religious thought. Still, others of the same race remained all the time pastoral and morally non-progressive. They alone, by their unique contacts with the more ancient and developed societies, by their capacity for serious thought, and their unusual experiences, were enabled to approach within sight of the Truth.

APPENDIX

A SHORT CLASSIFIED INDEX TO THE SOCIOLOGICAL MATERIALS IN THE EARLY BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

(GENESIS—I KINGS.)

REFERENCES ARE ARRANGED IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER IN THE FOLLOWING SECTIONS.

- I.—ETHNOGRAPHY: distribution of races—giants—inter-marriage.
- II.—POLITICAL ORGANISATION: tribal organisation—judges—rise of monarchy—royal family—royal functions and insignia.
- III.—WARFARE: army organisation—equipment—rules of war—strategy—weapons.
- IV.—LAW AND JUSTICE: blood-vengeance—crimes and punishments—civil law—procedure.
- V.—SOCIAL ORGANISATION: customs concerning birth, marriage and death—position of women—morality—life in town and village—travel—social habits.
- VI.—DOMESTIC LIFE: clothing—food—furniture—houses—toilet.
- VII.—OCCUPATIONS: agriculture—sheep-rearing—trades—commerce—money—prices—wages.
- VIII.—ARCHITECTURE AND ART: arts and crafts—building materials and technique—music.
- IX.—INTELLECTUAL LIFE: literature—writing—medicine—time-reckoning.
- X.—RELIGIOUS PRACTICES (*a*) orthodox, (*b*) prohibited: superstitions.
- XI.—PRIMITIVE CUSTOMS: archaic ceremonies—primitive ideas—traces of matriarchate—relics of stone- and tree-worship.
- XII.—EXTERNAL INFLUENCES: traces of foreign contacts, largely in religion.

I.—*Ethnography.*

Dialect. Jud. xii 6 J.

Distribution of Races in Palestine. Nu. xiii 29[?] JE, xiv 25 JE, Deut. ii 10–12, 20–23, Jos. xi 3 RD.

Giants. Gen. vi 4 J, xiv 5, 6, ?, Nu. xiii 33 JE, Deut. i 28, ii 20, iii 11, II Sam. xxi 16, 18.

Relations with non-Israelite Peoples. Gen. xxxiv, P, J, Jud. iii 6 J, ix, J, E, xiv 9–14 J, I Sam. xxiii 3.

II. *Political Organisation.*

Administrative districts. I Ki. iv 7–19.

Cities with their villages. Jos. xv 32, 36, etc., P.

Court life, its early simplicity. II Sam. xiii 8, 24–5.

“Eating at the king’s table.” II Sam. ix 7, 10, 11, I Ki. ii 7.

Elders of the people. Num. xi 16 E.

Eunuchs. II Ki. ix 32.

Footmen. I Sam. viii 11, xxii 17.

Guard. I Ki. xiv 27.

Heirs to thrones massacred. I Ki. xv 29, xvi 11, II Ki. x 6, xi 1.

Incipient monarchy under Abimelech at Shechem. Jud. ix J, E.

Insignia of royalty—

Crown and armlets, II Sam. i 10.

Spear, I Sam. xviii 11, xix 9, xx 33, xxvi 7.

Worn in battle. II Sam. i 10, I Ki. xxii 30.

Judgeship—

Samuel’s circuit. I Sam. vii 16.

Held by sons as deputies. ib. viii 2.

King—

Judge. II Sam. viii 15, xv 2, I Ki. iii 9, 16 f., 28.

Leader in battle. I Sam. xi 7, 11, xiii, xiv, xv, xxxi, II Sam. v 6f, 17f, viii, and cf. ib. xviii 2–3.

“King’s friend,” title. II Sam. xv 37.

Ministers. II Sam. viii 16–8, Is. xxii 15–21.

Obeisance to king. II Sam. i 2, xiv 4, xv 5.

“Officers of the people.” Ex. v, 14, 15, Jos. i 10 E, viii 33 RD.

Princes’ separate houses. II Sam. xiii 7, 8.

Princesses’ special dress. II Sam. xiii 18.

Queen-mother. I Ki. ii 19.

Recorder. II Sam. viii 16, xx 24, I Ki. iv 3, II Ki. xviii 18.

Registration. Nu. xi 26 E.

Rulers (or captains) of thousands, hundreds, etc. Ex. xviii 21–25 E, Nu. i 16 P, Deut. i 15, I Sam. xxii 7.

Runners before chariot. I Sam. viii 11, II Sam. xv 1, I Ki. xviii 46.

Seal, royal. I Ki. xxi 8.

Typical oriental rule. I Sam. viii 10 ff.

III. *Warfare.*

Armour. I Sam. xvii 38 ; I Ki. xxii 38, II Ki. iii 21 ; Goliath's, I Sam. xvii 5.

Armour-bearer. Jud. ix 54, I Sam. xiv 6, 7, 12, etc., xvii 7, 41, xxxi 4.

Battle-cry. Jud. v 14 E, vii 18, 20 J.

Battle-scene. II Sam. ii 17-19.

Barbarities. II Sam. viii 2, xii 31.

Captives, treatment of. Deut. xxi 10-14 ; xxxii 42, Jud. i 7 J, II Ki. vi 22-3.

Champion-fighting. I Sam. xvii, ? II Sam. ii 12-17.

Chariots—

Canaanites', of iron. Jos. xvii 16 J, Jud. i 19 J, iv 3 RE.

Captured ones destroyed, Jos. xi 6 J ; reserved for use, II Sam. viii 4.

Late traces of surviving prejudice against them. Deut. xvii 16, Is. ii 7, xxxi 1, Micah v. 10, Hos. xiv 3, Ps. xx 7.

Chariot-cities of Solomon. I Ki. iv 26, x 26.

City-site sown with salt. Jud. ix 45 E.

Civilians, plight of. Jud. vi 2 JE, I Sam. xiii 6, xiv 11.

Ensigns and standards. Nu. ii 2 P.

Exemptions from army service. Deut. xx 5-8 ; Jud. vii 3.

Foot on fallen enemy's neck. Jos. x 24 J, I Ki. v 3, Ps. cx 1, Is. li 23.

Guards round camp. Jud. vii 19.

Horses in war. *See* refs. under Chariots.

Left-handed warriors. Jud. iii 15 RE, xx 16 RP, I Chr. xii 2.

Marshal's staff. Jud. v 14 E.

Officers. Nu. xxxi 14 P, and see " Officers of the people " under II.

Organisation of command. II Sam. xviii 1-2.

Purification of warriors and weapons. Nu. xxxi 19-24 P.

Roll-call. I Sam. xiii 15, xiv 17.

Runners carrying news. I Sam. iv 12, II Sam. i 2, xviii 19-28.

Seasonal war. II Sam. xi 1.

Siege-warfare. II Sam. xi 16-21, xx 15.

Spoil—

Division of. I Sam. xxx 24, Nu. xxxi 25 P.

Placed in temples. I Sam. xxi 9, xxxi 10.

Standing army under Saul. I Sam. xiii 2, xiv 52.

Strategy. Jos. viii 3 ff., Jud. vii, ix 30 ff., xx.

Summons to war. Jud. xix 29 J., I Sam. xi 7.

Trophies. I Sam. xv 12, xviii 25.

War-code. Deut. xx.

War-taboos. Nu. v 1-4, P, II Sam. xi 11.

Watches set. Jud. vii 19 E, I Sam. xi 11.

Weapons—

- Bow. Gen. xxvii 3 J, xlvi 22 E, II Sam. i 22, I Ki. xxii 34 (and frequently).
 Club, staff. II Sam. xxiii 21.
 Dagger. Jud. iii 16, 21, 22 JE.
 Darts. II Sam. xviii 14.
 Javelin. Nu. xxv 7 P, I Sam. xviii 10, xix 9, 10.
 Shield. Jud. v 8 E; oiled and polished, II Sam. i 21, Is. xxi 5.
 Sling. Jud. xv 16 RP, I Sam. xvii 40, 50, II Ki. iii 25.
 Spear. Jos. viii 18 E, Jud. v 8 E, I Sam. xiii 22, xvii 7 etc.;
and see Insignia of royalty, II.
 Sword. Gen. iii 24 J, xxxiv 25, 26, P, J, Jos. xxiv 12 RD.,
etc.

IV. *Law and Justice.*

- Asylum, altar as. Ex. xxi 13, 14 E; horns of the altar as,
 I Ki. i 50, 51.
 Avenger of blood. Nu. xxxv 9 ff. P, Deut. iv 41, 42, Jos. xx 3 P.
 Blood-vengeance. Gen. iv 23-4 J.
 Bribe, gift. Ex. xxiii 8 E, I Sam. viii 3, xii 3.
 Burglary. Ex. xxii 2-4 E.
 Cities of refuge. Nu. xxxv 9-34 P, Deut. iv 41, Jos. xx 2 P.
 Codes of law. E, Ex. xxi ff. J, Ex. xxxiv, D, Deut. xii ff.
 Compensation for damage, Ex. xxi various, E; for injuries,
 Ex. xxi 18-19, E.
 Covenants, procedure at. Gen. xv 10, xxvi 29 J, xxxi 45 E,
 47 J, Ex. xxiv 6 E, Jer. xxxiv 18-9.
 Execution outside city. Gen. xxxviii 24 J, Lev. xxiv 14 P,
 Deut. xvii 5, Nu. xv 36 P.
 Hanged criminal to be taken down by nightfall. Jos. viii 29 J,
 x 26-7 J, Deut. xxi 22.
 Head of family pronouncing sentence. Gen. xxxviii 24 J.
 Humanitarian laws. Ex. xxii 26 E, xxiii 4, 5, E.
 Inheritance. Deut. xxi 15-17, I Ki. xxi 3; by a woman, Nu.
 xxvii 1-11 P, xxxvi P, Jos. xvii 3 f. P.
 Judges—
 Local and central. Ex. xviii 13 ff. E, Deut. xvi 18, xvii 8-12.
 Rules for. Ex. xxiii 1, 2 E, Deut. i 16, xvi 18-20; *see also*
 Section II, s.v.
 Justice, early. Ex. xviii 13 ff. E; royal, I Sam. viii 5, II Sam.
 viii 15, xv 2, and elsewhere.
 Kidnapping. Deut. xxiv 7.
 Kinsman. Nu. v 8 P.
 Land-purchase, procedure for. Gen. xxiii P, Jer. xxxii 8-12, 44.
 Land, succession to. Nu. xxvii 1-11, xxxvi P.
 Lex talionis. Ex. xxi 23-5, E, Deut. xix 21.
 Manslaughter Nu. xxxv 22 ff. P.

Murder. Ex. xxi 12-14 E, Nu. xxxv 16-21 P.

Oaths. Gen. xxi 22 ff. E, xxiv 2-3, J, xxvi 31 J, xlvii 29-31 J.
Ordeal, of jealousy, Nu. v 11 ff. P ; for theft, Ex. xxii 7-9 E,

I Ki. viii 31.

Punishments—

Beating. Deut. xxv 1-3.

Burning alive. Gen. xxxviii 24, J, Lev. xxi 9 H.

Exposure of corpse. II Sam. iv 12, xxi 6 ff.

Hanging. Deut. xxi 22 ; Jos. viii 29 J, x 26-7 J.

Imprisonment. I Ki. xxii 27, Jer. xxxvii 16, xxxviii 6.

Inability to divorce wife. Deut. xxii 28-9.

Money fine. Ex. xxii 17 E.

Stoning. Jos. vii 26 J, Lev. xx 2, Deut. xxi 21.

Ransom of a life. Ex. xxi 30 E, xxx 12 P ; I Sam. xii 3.

Responsibility of individual, slow growth of. cf. Gen. xx 7 E,
Jos. vii 24 ; Deut. xxiv 16, II Ki. xiv 5, 6.

Theft. Ex. xxii 1, 7-9 E.

Witnesses—

Calling for. Lev. v 1, ? Jud. xvii 2 E.

Duties of. Deut. xix 16-20.

Two required. Deut. xvii 6, 7, Nu. xxxv 30.

V. *Social Organisation.*

Beard cut, insult. II Sam. x 4.

Birth customs. Ex. i 16, 19 E.

Birthright. Gen. xxv 31 ff. J.

Blessing of father, greatly valued. Gen. xxvii 34 ff, J, xlviii
9 f E.

Boundary stones, land mark. Deut. xix 14 ; cf. Section XI,
s.v. stones.

Burial—

Usual early custom, Gen. xxiii 19 P, xxv 10 P, xxxv 19-20 J,
1 5 J ; coffin apparently exceptional, Gen. 1 26 E.

In house. I Sam. xxv 1, I Ki. ii 34.

In family sepulchre, desirable. Gen. xlix 29 P, 1 5 J, Jos. xxiv
32 E, II Sam. xix 37.

Burning before burial (exceptional circumstances). I Sam.
xxxi 12-3.

Cities on mounds. Jos. xi 13 RD, Jer. xxx 18.

City-gate—

Social centre, Gen. xix 1 J, xxiii 10 P, II Sam. xv 2, I Ki.
xxii 10 and elsewhere.

Watchman at. II Sam. xviii 24 ; *see also* Porter, and Section
VIII s.v.

Concubinage. Gen. xvi J, Jud. xix 2 etc., J and E, II Sam.
xx 3, xxi 11.

Dancing. Ex. xxxii 19, Jud. xi 34 E, xxi 21, I Sam. xviii 6, II Sam. vi 14.

Distinctions of rank slight. I Sam. ix 22.

Divorce. Deut. xxiv 1-4.

Dogs, scavengers and despised. Ex. xxii 31 E, I Ki. xiv 11, xxi 19 etc. I Sam. xvii 43, xxiv 14.

Dread of being slain by woman. Jud. ix 54 E.

Drunkenness. Gen. ix 21, I Sam. i 14, xxv 36.

Dunghill, beggars' seat. I Sam. ii 8.

Extinction of family much dreaded. II Sam. xiv 7.

Family sacrifice. I Sam. xx 6, 29.

Feast after sacrifice. I Sam. i 4-8, ix 22-24.

Feet—

Falling at, clasping. II Ki. iv 27.

Washing after journey, a hospitable duty. Gen. xviii 4 J, xliii 24 J, Jud. xix 21 J.

Ferry-boat, II Sam. xix 18.

Festivals. Ex. xxiii 14 E, xxxiv 22 J; *see also* Vintage.

Festivities. *See* Marriage, Sheepshearing (Sec. vii), Weaning of child.

Hands—

Pouring water on, synonym for service. II Ki. iii 11.

Smiting, clapping, in contempt. Nu. xxiv 10 JE, Lam. ii 15, Nahum iii 19.

Harlots. Gen. xxxviii 14, 21, J; Jos. ii 1 J.

Hospitality—

Examples of. Gen. xviii J, xix J, xxiv 32 J, Ex. ii 20 J, Jud. xiii 15 J, xix 3 ff., 16 ff. JE, I Sam. ix 22, II Sam. vi 19, xvii 27, II Ki. iv 8.

Kid as gift in sadiqa marriage (q.v.). Gen. xxxviii 17 J etc., Jud. xv 1 J.

Kiss. Gen. xxvii 26-7 J, I Sam. x 1, II Sam. xv 5, xx 9.

Lodging-place. Ex. iv 24 J, Jer. ix 2.

Marriage-customs—

Betrothal. Gen. xxiv J, xxix J and E.

Dowry. Gen. xxxiv 12 J, Ex. xxii 16, 17, E, I Sam. xviii 25.

Wedding festivities. Gen. xxix 21-30, J, E, P. Jud. xiv J.

Marriage, forms of—

Levirate marriage. Gen. xxxviii J, Deut. xxv 5-10.

Monogamy. Gen. ii 24 J.

Polygamy recognised. Deut. xxi 15-7.

Sadiqa marriage. Jud. viii 31, ?E, ix 1 E, xiv E.

Moral laws, various. Ex. xxii 16, 17 E, Deut. xxii.

Mourning customs—

Clothes rent. I Sam. iv 12, II Sam. i 2, ii, xiii 31.

Earth or dust on head. Jos. vii 6, etc.

Fasting. II Sam. xii 16, 17.

Feet bare. II Sam. xv 30.

Head covered. II Sam. xv 30, xix 4.

Names—

Allusive. Gen. xxix 31–5 J, I Sam. iv 21.

Baal-names fairly common, later disguised, Jud. vi 32 E 2, and cf. II Sam. iv 4, I Chron. viii 34 : II Sam. v 16 and I Chr. xiv 7.

Given by mother. Gen. iv 1, 25 J, xix 37 J, xxix 32 J, xxxv 18 J, I Sam. iv 22.

Offerings to the dead. Deut. xxvi 14.

Parental jurisdiction. Gen. xxxviii 24 J, Deut. xxi 18–21.

Pillar, sepulchral monument. Gen. xxxv 20 J, II Sam. xviii 18.

Porter at city gate. II Sam. xviii 26, II Ki. vii 10.

Presents. Gen. xliii 11, II Sam. xvi 2.

Proverbs, popular sayings, often satirical. Nu. xxi 27 JE, Deut. xxviii 37, I Sam. x 12, xix 24, xxiv 13, Hab. ii 6.

Respect to seniors. Ex. xviii 7 E, Lev. xix 32 H.

Riding animals—

Asses, white. Jud. v 10.

Horses. Gen. xlix 17 J, Ex. xv 21 J, II Ki. ix 18.

Mules. II Sam. xiii 29, xviii 9, I Ki. i 33.

Road, highway. Deut. ii 27.

Robbery of travellers. Jud. ix 25 E.

Runaway servants. I Sam. xxv 10.

Sanitary regulations. Deut. xxiii 10 ff.

Shrine, private. Jud. vi 25 E, xvii 5 J.

Stranger, treatment of. Deut. x 19.

Towers. Jud. ix, 46, 51 E.

Travelling. Jud. xix 3–31, J, E.

Village life, general picture. Jud. xiv, xv, xviii, J and E.

Walls of cities. Nu. xii 28 JE, Deut. i 28, Jos. ii 15, II Sam. xi 20, xviii 24.

Watchman, II Sam. xiii 34.

Water—

Bought for money, Deut. ii 6.

Drawn by women, Gen. xxiv 11 J, Ex. ii 16 J, I Sam. ix 11.

Weaning of child, festivity. Gen. xxi 8 E, cf. I Ki. xi 20.

Wells—

Disputes over. Gen. xxi 25 E, xxvi 18–22 J.

In courtyard of house. II Sam. xvii, 18, 19.

Outside city. Gen. xxiv 11 J, I Sam. ix 11.

Song at opening of. Nu. xxi 15 ff. JE.

Widows—

Position of, Gen. xxxviii 11 J, Lev. xxii 13.

Speedy re-marriage of. I Sam. xxv 39, II Sam. xi 27.

Wives, rivalry between. Gen. xxx 1 E, 15 J, I Sam. i 6.

Women—

Position of (exceptional), Ex. xv 20 E, Jud. iv 4 RE, II Ki. xxii 14.

Gross ill-treatment of. Gen. xix J, Jud. xx J and E.

Regarded as property. Ex. xxii 16, 17 E, Deut. v 21.

Rich woman's life. Deut. xxviii 56, Jud. v 29–30 E.

Veiled on occasion. Gen. xxiv 65 J.

Wrestling perhaps alluded to. Jud. xv 8 J.

VI. *Domestic Life.*

Anointing, part of toilet, neglected in mourning. II Sam. xii 20. *See also* Section X, s.v.

“Bosom” of a garment. Ex. iv 6 J.

Bread. Ex. xii 39 J, Jos. ix 5, 12 J, Jud. viii 5.

Cakes baked on the coals. Gen. xviii 6 J, I Ki. xix 6.

Cooking utensils—

Caldron. I Sam. ii 14.

Flesh-hook of three teeth, I Sam. ii 13.

Frying-pan. Lev. ii 7, vii 9.

Kettle. I Sam. ii 14.

Pot. I Sam. ii 14; “great pot,” II Ki. iv 38–40.

Oven. Lev. ii 4, xi 35 P, xxvi 26 H.

Ranges. Lev. xi 35.

Doors—

Bolted. II Sam. xiii 17.

Locked. Jud. iii 23 J.

Eye-paint. II Ki. ix 30, Jer. iv 30.

Firebrands. Jud. xv 4 J, Is. vii 4.

Firepans, censers. Nu. xvi 6 P, I Ki. vii 50.

Food—

Barley, II Sam. xvii 28.

Broth, Jud. vi 19 J.

Cheese. I Sam. xvii 18.

Figs, cakes of. I Sam. xxv 18, xxx 12.

Flour, meal. Gen. xviii 6 J, II Sam. xvii 28.

Honey. II Sam. xvii 29.

Milk or butter. Jud. iv 19, v 25, E; II Sam. xvii 29.

Parched corn. I Sam. xvii 17, II Sam. xvii 29.

Pottage, vegetable stew. Gen. xxv 34, II Ki. iv 38–40.

Raisins. I Sam. xxv 18. *See also* Bread, meat, wine.

Furniture—

Bed. I Sam. xix 13, xxviii 23.

Bolster. I Sam. xix 13.

Chairs. Jud. iii 20 JE.

Table. Jud. i 7 J.

Room completely furnished. II Ki. iv 10.

Girdle—

I Sam. xviii 4, II Sam. xviii 11, II Ki. i 8.

Of priests. Ex. xxviii 4, 40 P, and frequently elsewhere.

Grass upon the housetops. II Ki. xix 26.

Houses, dedication of. Deut. xx 5.

Inscriptions on doorposts. Deut. vi 9, xi 20.

Ivory houses. I Ki. xxii 39, Amos iii 15.

Mantle, prophet's. I Ki. xix 19.

Meals, special portions to guests. Gen. xliii 34 J, Nu. xxii 40 E,
I Sam. ix 23, II Sam. xi 8.

Meat-eating, rarely mentioned except after sacrifice, *e.g.*, I Sam.
ix 13, 22 ff.

Meats—

Kid's flesh. Gen. xxvii 9 J, and cf. Ex. xxiii 19 E, Deut. xiv
21 ; Section X s.v. Kid.

Veal. Gen. xviii 7 J.

Venison. Gen. xxvii 3-4, etc., J. *See also* list of clean beasts,
Lev. xi P, Deut. xiv 4 ff.

Millstones. Deut. xxiv 6.

Mirrors. Ex. xxxviii 8 P, Is. iii 22.

Moustaches, another reading for beard. II Sam. xix 24.

Oil—

For domestic uses. II Ki. iv 2 ff.

For festive and ceremonial use. Jud. ix 9 E.

Ornaments. Gen. xxiv 47 J, xxxv 4 E, Ex. xxxiii 4 J, 6 E,
Nu. xxxi 50 P, Jud. viii 21, 24 E.

Parlour. I Sam. ix 22 ; summer parlour, Jud. iii 20 JE.

Portress at house-door. II Sam. iv 6, LXX reading.

Roofs—

To be protected by battlement. Deut. xxii 8.

Use of. Jos. ii 6, 8 J, I Sam. ix 25, II Sam. xi 2.

Shaving. Gen. xli 14 E, Lev. xiv 8 P, xxi 5 H, Nu. vi 9, 18, P,
viii 7 P, Deut. xxi 12, etc.

Shoes, clouted. Jos. ix 5 J.

Siesta in heat of day. II Sam. iv 5, xi 2.

Signet. Gen. xxxviii 18 J, Ex. xxviii 11 P, xxxix 6 P.

Tent-life. Jud. iv 17-21 E, v 24-6 E.

Windows—

Fair-sized. Jos. ii 6, 8, 15 JE, II Ki. i 2.

Lattice. Jud. v 28 E.

Wine. Gen. ix 20, 21 J, xiv 18, xix 32 J, xlix 11 J, Lev. x 9, I
Sam. i. 24, xxv 18, II Sam. vi 19, etc.

Wineskins. Jos. ix 4 E.

VII. *Occupations.*

Agriculture—

Fallow year. Ex. xxiii 11 E, Lev. xxv 4 H.

Former and latter rains. Deut. xi 14.

Furrow's length. I Sam. xiv 14.

Gleanings to be left for poor. Deut. xxiv 19-21.

Ploughing. I Ki. xix 19, Is. xxviii 24.

Ploughing, not with ox and ass together. Deut. xxii 10.

Sowing, not with mingled seed. Lev. xix 19 H.

Threshing, threshing floors. Jud. vi 11 J, viii 7, 16 E, Deut.

xxv 4, I Sam. xxiii 1, II Sam. xxiv 22, Is. xxviii 27.

Wheat harvest. Jud. xv 1, 5 J, I Sam. xii 17.

Ass, chief beast of burden, refs. numerous; *see also* Section V, s.v. Riding.

Bees. Deut. i 44.

Beggars. I Sam. ii 8.

Booths, huts. Gen. xxxiii 17 J, Lev. xxiii 42 H.

Camels, beast of burden. Gen. xii 16 J, xxiv 19 J, xxx 43 J,

xxxi 34 E, xxxvii 25 J, Jud. vi 5 JE, vii 12 E, viii 21, 26 E,

I Sam. xxvii 9, xxx 17, I Ki. x, 2, II Ki. viii 9.

Cart. I Sam. vi 7.

"Choice fruits of the land," Gen. xliii 11 J.

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Circumcision. Gen. xvii P, Ex. iv 24-5 J ; etc.

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Passover. Ex. xii J, etc. ; II Ki. xxiii 22.

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Prophets of ecstatic type. I Sam. x 5, 6.

Purification of women. Lev. xii P.

Sabbath. Ex. xx 3 E, xxxi 12, Gen. ii 2, 3, P Nu. xv 32-6 P.

Sabbatical year. Ex. xxiii 10 E, Lev. xxv i ff. H.

Sacrifice, annual, of a family, I Sam. xx 6, 29 ; "in the open field," Lev. xvii 5 ; to be offered with salt, Lev. ii 13.

Seven as sacred or significant number. Gen. xxi 28 E, Nu. xxiii 1 E, Lev. xiv 7, etc., etc.

Shewbread. Ex. xxv P, Lev. xxiv 5 H ; I Sam. xxi 4-6.

Shoes removed on holy ground. Ex. iii 5 J, Jos. v 15 J.

Slaughter of animals for food. Lev. xvii 3 ff., Deut. xii 16.

Tabernacle. Ex. xxv etc. P.

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Uncleanness, regulations concerning. Lev. v, vii, xi, xii, xv, xxii, Nu. v, xix, ; Deut. xxiii 10.

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Washing, ceremonial. Ex. xxix 4 P, xxx 19, 21 etc., Lev. xiv 8 P, xv 5 P ; II Sam. xi 2.

Washing hands in sign of innocence. Deut. xxi 6.

(b) *Prohibited Observances, Superstitions.*

- Amulets, wearing of, implied in Gen. xxxv 4 E.
 Asherah and pillars. Deut. xvi 21, etc., etc.
 Bull-worship. Ex. xxxii. E, J, I Ki. xii 28, Hos. viii 5, 6, x 5, xiii 2.
 Confusion of attire. Deut. xxii 5, Lev. xix 19 H.
 Devils, sacrifice to. Lev. xvii 7, Deut. xxxii 17.
 Divination. Gen. xliv 5, 15 J, Nu. xxii 7 J and E, Deut. xviii 10, I Sam. xxviii 8 ff., etc.
 Familiar spirits, magic, sorcery. Lev. xx 27, Deut. xviii 11, etc.
 Passing children through fire. Deut. xii 31; cf. II Ki. xvii 17, etc. xxi 3-7.
 Kid seethed in mother's milk. Ex. xxxiii 19 E, Deut. xiv 21.
 Threshold, some belief concerning. I Sam. v 5, Zeph. i 9.
 Worship of sun, moon and host of heaven. Deut. xvii 3, II Ki. xvii 16, xxi 5; cf. II Ki. xxiii 11.

XI. *Primitive Customs and Ideas.*

Archaic ceremonies preserved—

- Cleansing of leprosy. Lev. xiii, xiv.
 Expiation of untraced murder. Deut. xxi 1-9.
 Purification by ashes of red heifer. Nu. xix 1-10.
 Scape-goat, Lev. xvi.
 Bells on priest's robe. Ex. xxviii 34 P.
 Blood, disposal of, fear of. Gen. iv 10 J, Lev. xvii 11, Deut. xii 16, 24. *See also* Section X (a) s.v.
 Cairns over criminals, etc. (to keep down ghosts). Jos. vii 26 J, viii 29 J, x 27 J, II Sam. xviii 17.
 Counting (census), fear of. Ex. xxx 12 P, cf. II Sam. xxiv.
 Curses, cursing. Nu. xxii-xxiv JE, Deut. xi 29, Jud. xvii 1 E.
 Matriarchate, traces of—
 Man follows wife, not *vice versa*. Gen. ii 24 J.
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 Relationship through father ignored. Gen. xx 12 E, II Sam. xiii 13.
 Tent belongs to woman. Gen. xxiv 67 J, Jud. iv 17 E.
 Purification needed after childbirth. Lev. xii 1-8.
 "Rock" as divine name. Deut. xxxii 4, 15, 18, 30, 37; and cf. names Zuri-el, Nu. iii 35 P, Zuri-shaddai, Nu. i 6 P.
 Stones held sacred. Gen. xxviii 18 E, xxxi 52 E, xxxv 14 J, Jos. xxiv 26, 27, E, Jud. ix 5 E, I Sam. vi 14, 18, vii 12, xx 19.
 Taboo on iron tools. Ex. xx 25 E, Deut. xxvii 5 JE; I Ki. vi 7.
 Trees held sacred. Gen. xxxv 4, 8 E, Jos. xxiv 26 E, Jud. vi 11 J, I Sam. xxii 6, xiv 2, xxxi 13; etc.
 Wine forbidden to priests, ancient taboo, Lev. x 9.

XII. *External Influences.*

(*Note.*—The foreign origin of items marked * is suggested by archæological considerations.)

“Ashtoreths” = young of the flock. Deut. vii 13.

Babylon, Mesopotamian civilisation. Gen. xi 28 J, Jos. vii 21 J.

Brazen Sea.* I Ki. vii 23–6.

Cherethites and Pelethithes. II Sam. viii 18, xv 18.

Cherubim.* Ex. xxv 18–20 P

Child-sacrifice. Deut. xii 31.

Cretans, Negeb of the (“south of the Cherethites”). I Sam. xxx 14.

Cushite. II Sam. xviii 31.

Egypt. Gen. xxxix—Ex. xii passim; diseases of E. Deut. vii 15; E. slave of an Amalekite, I Sam. xxx 11, 13.

Foundation-sacrifices. Jos. vi 26 J, I Ki. xvi 34.

High Places. Lev. xxvi 30, Nu. xxxiii 52, Deut. xii 2; I Ki. iii 2, II Ki. xvii 32, etc.

Hittites, children of Heth. Gen. xxiii 3, etc. P, xxvi 34 P, II Sam. xi 3, etc., II Ki. vii 6; Ezek. xvi 3.

Jachin and Boaz,* ? pillar cult. I Ki. vii, 15–22.

Philistine rule. Jud. xiv ff., I Sam. passim; esp. I Sam. xiii 19; and *see* Cherethites, Cretans.

Serpent-cults? Nu. xxi 6–9 JE.

Sun and moon worship. Deut. xvii 3, xxxiii 14 etc.; *see* Section Xb s.v.

Teraphim. Gen. xxxi 19, 34 E, Jud. xvii 5 J, xviii 14 J, I Sam. xix 13.

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